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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL 1920

THE ATONEMENT AND MODERN THOUGHT

The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology—the Bampton Lectures for 1915. By H. RASHDALL, D.D., Dean of Carlisle. (Macmillan, 1919.)

A History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ. By R. S. FRANKS, M.A. In two volumes. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1917.)

The Doctrine of the Atonement. By J. K. MOZLEY, M.A. (Duckworth. 1915.)

THE doctrine of the Atonement, says Mr. W. H. Moberly in *Foundations*, ‘has largely dropped out of modern Christianity.’ The measure of truth to be found in this statement depends on the sense attached to the words. If it be meant that the Christian doctrine of the Cross has largely ceased to be considered an essential and vital element in the Christian religion the charge cannot be maintained, and the tragic experiences of the last few years have made it less true than ever. But if, as the drift of the writer’s essay would indicate, a doctrine of Atonement means a definite interpretation of the exact place which the death of the Saviour occupies in His work for man’s salvation and a reasoned explanation of the moral necessity of such a sacrifice for sin, it may be granted at once that some theories current in the past have ceased to commend themselves to men’s minds, and that in consequence some preachers and teachers have spoken on the subject with uncertain voice and some may have failed to speak of it altogether.

Such hesitation is greatly to be regretted, but it may not be all loss. If temporary silence leads to a fresh and firmer hold upon one of the great Christian verities and greater ability to speak of it in such a way as will commend it more directly to the consciences of men of to-day, it may mark a distinct step in advance. Moreover, the difficulties indicated are not new. The Church of Christ, while loyal throughout the centuries to the standard of the Cross, has not identified itself with any one of the many 'philosophies' of the Cross, its central mystery and highest glory. For a thousand years the Church never attempted to do for the work of Christ what in the third and fourth centuries it sought to accomplish for the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and in the fifth for the doctrines of Grace. When Anselm in the eleventh century had propounded his great question *Cur Deus homo?* his own answer and those of Abelard and Aquinas who followed him represented markedly different strains of exposition of the doctrine of the Cross, though they were not fundamentally inconsistent with one another. The standard creeds of Christendom hardly touch the subject, except in the one brief, general clause, 'who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven,' though we know that from the very beginning, during the short interval between the Ascension and the conversion of St. Paul, there lay at the very heart of the Christian faith and in the core of the Apostolic message this pregnant article of the primitive creed, 'that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.' The meaning of the preposition 'for' was but slowly developed, for the process implied the slow education of the human mind into the deepest secrets of God. When men asked, *Why* was it necessary for Christ thus to suffer and to enter into His glory? the Church did not frame a compendious form of words to explain the exact significance of the Divine needs-be. Nevertheless from the beginning, down to, and emphatically including our own time, 'Christ crucified,' a message which

was to some an offence and to others foolishness, has remained to all who believe the power of God and the wisdom of God. And every generation, our own emphatically included, has needed a more complete education and a deeper insight into the meaning of the sufferings of Christ and the glories that should follow—‘ which things angels desire to look into.’

No wonder if the eye fails and the tongue falters. Those who speak most confidently and dogmatically on great subjects are not always the wisest teachers. The theme is one for devout meditation rather than for logical definition, and least of all can its message be heard amidst the clash and din of theological controversy. At the Cross gather most thickly the mysteries and the glories of the Christian religion. If the very existence of sin and evil is a mystery, how much more the methods of its removal and overthrow. Can sin be forgiven by the All-Holy, while Nature knows nothing of forgiveness? What is forgiveness—as between man and man—as between the All-righteous and All-loving Father and Sovereign of all and His disobedient creature man? Is punishment, retributive as well as remedial, demanded by righteous law? Can Love forgive on the mere repentance of the sinner, without wrong or slight to the Eternal Law of Righteousness? If more than repentance is needed and the Son of God has been incarnated to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself, what does such sacrifice involve, and why did He suffer for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God? Such questions issue from the infinite and pass into the infinite again. It is natural, though as we hold essentially unChristian, to say, Accept the glorious ‘fact’ of deliverance and refuse all ‘theories’ concerning it. For the fact in question is not that an obscure Jewish teacher, Jesus of Nazareth, died a felon’s death in Jerusalem A.D. 29. If this be all, one more tragic crime in history raises no questions and needs no theories. But if it be true that He who was Son of Man and

Son of God gave Himself to utmost suffering and death 'for our sins,' Christians are bound by their very allegiance to their Lord to think out as well as to feel the meaning of the words and to answer as best they can the questions of anxious inquirers without and of their own hearts within. Millions of sinful men have been saved without asking or answering these questions. But it is to those who reverently ponder them, in spite of their many misunderstandings, mistakes, and retractions, that it is chiefly given to educate the mind of the Church, to promote the preaching of the gospel, and so to advance the salvation of the world. J. B. Mozley, in his great sermon on the Atonement, says, 'Justice is a fragment, mercy is a fragment, mediation is a fragment ; justice, mercy, mediation as a reason of mercy—all three ; what indeed are they but great vistas and openings into an invisible world in which is the point of view which brings them all together ?' That point of view is not easily reached. But it is the reverent contemplation of these rays of spiritual sunlight which opens the spiritual eye and trains spiritual eyesight. Those who behold as in a glass the glory of the Lord reflect it as in a mirror and are transformed into the same image as by the Lord the Spirit.

I

The doctrine of Atonement, more than any other, has been caricatured. Sometimes wilfully and with intent to damage religion, but far more frequently through the exaggerations of critics whose own moral sense has revolted against popular misconceptions and travesties of New Testament truth. Such criticism has been too often justified by teaching within the Church utterly unworthy of Christ and of Christianity. Iconoclasm becomes necessary when idols are worshipped in the sanctuary— $\xi\delta\omega\lambda\alpha$, false appearances, which have deceived the very elect. But most of these misrepresentations of Christian truth have been long outgrown and discarded, and it should not be necessary

still to deal with them, as if Christianity were to be identified with the crudities of popular theology or the extravagances of ardent fanatics. A few presuppositions may in these days be taken for granted, and a way be thus prepared for sound doctrine. For example :—

1. Christian doctrine does not teach that God needed to be induced to forgive and save men, or to be reconciled to the race through the medium of Another. Redemption is God's own work, which He began, is carrying on, and will consummate. His inexhaustible love is the origin and animating principle of the whole.

2. There can be no schism in the unity of the Godhead, still less any shadow of divergence between Father and Son. One 'Person' in the Holy Trinity cannot 'satisfy the demand' of another, and the idea of a merciful Son placating an angry Father is utterly unChristian. Nor can any intermediate being, one who is neither God nor man, serve as mediator for the human race. Christ is God-in-man, man-in-God.

3. No pain of the suffering Son of Man had value *as pain* for the salvation of men. No quantitative estimate of pain or suffering can have place here ; there can be no weighing in the balance of 'equivalents' for sin in terms of pain or penalty. *Non mors, sed voluntas*, said Bernard. Under the government of righteous men, to say nothing of the All-holy and All-merciful God, no conception can be admitted of punishment as so much pain which must be inflicted on some one, guilty or innocent, before an offender can go free.

4. In the work of the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of men and its acceptance by the believer, there can be nothing fictitious or arbitrary. It is true that the Saviour gave Himself, the righteous for the unrighteous, to bring us to God, but it is by no fiction, legal or other, that God is at the same time righteous and the justifier of the sinner who believes in Jesus. The words 'impute' and 'imputation,'

if used in ethics at all, must be carefully defined and guarded. The sinner's guilt is not 'imputed' to the Saviour, nor the Saviour's righteousness, active or passive, 'imputed' to the sinner, in the sense often attached to the words. And yet it is blessedly true that 'Him who knew no sin He made to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.'

5. The atonement wrought out by Christ is no episode or after-thought, no 'scheme' devised after the event to remedy the evil of sin; no cosmic 'transaction' beyond the reach and range of moral and spiritual experience; no 'exhibition' as in a celestial drama for man's benefit; no forensic 'process' by which justice may be met, though by non-moral methods. Salvation through Christ is God's eternal purpose for men to be actually wrought out in man's spirit—heart and mind and will—a process in which the highest and purest moral forces are at work of which human nature is capable.

6. There is, however, a divine necessity that Christ should suffer. There is that in the nature of God, of man, and of the personal relations which He has established, which makes the salvation which is free to man to be unspeakably costly to God Himself. What this is cannot be truly apprehended without a Divine ἔδειξις ('to shew, for the shewing' R.V. 'to demonstrate' Weymouth, Moffatt), Rom. iii. 25, 6, which shall show and prove that the God, who loves men beyond all conceivable dreams of love, is wroth with that which ruins those whom He loves. Those who are saved through the death and resurrection of Christ are to share His abhorrence of the evil which caused the Agony and the Cross and which is still the cause of all the misery, shame, and death of a sinful and suffering world. But the Cross, which exhibits the unspeakable evil of sin and the measureless might of all-victorious Love, needs to be studied afresh by every generation of Christians if it is to do its part in the cleansing and renewal of the world. A

fresh and deeper conception is needed of the mind and purpose of the God who 'was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses.' That the period through which we are now passing has a special lesson of its own to learn and a special message of its own to give, who can question ?

II

The latest contribution to the literature of the subject is the volume of Bampton Lectures by the Dean of Carlisle, mentioned at the head of this article. Principal Franks, in his learned and valuable *History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ*, does not discuss either of the two subjects which are of chief importance to most students—the New Testament teaching and the constructive result of the long history he has so laboriously and usefully investigated. Mr. J. K. Mozley's volume is mainly occupied with a history of opinions, though in the last chapter, modestly entitled, 'Towards a Doctrine,' the writer makes many suggestions which will be welcomed and valued by the student. Both these latter books are ably written, and each may be strongly recommended as a guide in the region it covers, but neither professes to undertake a work of constructive theology for our own time.

Dr. Rashdall has produced what every one would expect of him, a learned, thoughtful, and weighty series of lectures, which will take rank with the best of their kind. He shows, as also might be expected, little sympathy with what is generally known as 'evangelical' doctrine, characterizing some forms of it as 'irrational, repellent, and immoral.' But on the constructive side the Dean appears mainly as a fresh champion of the Moral Influence theory of the Atonement, associated with the name of Abelard and recently advocated by Dr. G. B. Stevens in his *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*. The greater part of Dr. Rashdall's volume is occupied by an able survey of the history of the doctrine

down to the Reformation. It is written from the point of view of one whose mind is made up that there was no moral necessity for Christ's death beyond the manifestation of Divine Love to win men from evil ways and obtain the forgiveness which God is always willing to grant on repentance without any further conditions. Christ did not die, as some believe, 'that we might be forgiven,' but only, as we all believe, 'to make us good.' It is impossible here to summarize the argument of the book, but the position of the lecturer may be briefly given, chiefly in his own words.

The Lord Jesus Christ, it is said, 'never taught that His death was necessary for the forgiveness of sins,' and the only doctrine of atonement which can be traced back to His teaching is 'that His death, like His life, was one of self-sacrifice for others, an example which His followers were to imitate.' The true origin of the doctrine which was adopted by the Apostles, we are told, is to be found in Isa. liii., a passage which was misinterpreted as speaking of a Messiah who should suffer and die for the sins of His people. This apostolic doctrine 'originated in the necessity for explaining the scandal of a crucified Messiah.' It was put forward solely on authority, 'not as a result either of reflection or of any kind of religious experience.' St. Paul attempted to work out a substitutionary theory of Christ's death, or rather, 'many theories are suggested, not always consistent with one another and none of them is deliberately worked out.' Paul also put forward a theory of justification by faith, to which he was 'driven by the necessity of reconciling the freedom of Gentiles from the law with the teaching of the Old Testament and the dogma of plenary inspiration.' But these views of the apostle Paul 'exercised almost no influence,' his theory of atonement 'cannot be our theory,' and in spite of all Paul's authority it was never really accepted' in the Church at large. Dr. Rashdall allows in one place that the Pauline doctrine would never have taken such root as it did in later days, 'had it not responded

to something real and vital in the experience of Christians,' but he adds that at the same time 'it must be remembered that religious experience is largely affected and determined by religious belief.' The sum and substance of his own theory Dr. Rashdall finds in a sentence of Peter Lombard, 'So great a pledge of love having been given us, we are both moved and kindled to love God who did such great things for us; and by this we are justified, that is, being loosed from our sins we are made just. The death of Christ therefore justifies us, inasmuch as through it charity is stirred up in our hearts.'

No Christian denies the truth of these words; the question is whether they are the whole truth. Whether, that is, they offer an adequate view of our Lord's work of redemption and the New Testament teaching concerning it, whether they cover the whole ground of subsequent Christian thought and doctrine, whether they embody the whole message of the gospel, as it meets the needs of the burdened conscience and the guilty sinner. Whether, in short, they explain the whole history of the power of the gospel in men's hearts, so that all other teaching, either in the New Testament or elsewhere which goes beyond this, should be cut out of creed and heart as *Aberglaube*. In our view such a position, substantially that of the Dean of Carlisle, is quite untenable, but it is impossible here to give more than a few reasons for the opinion that the Moral Influence theory of the Atonement represents only a part of the doctrine of the Cross.

It is true that our Lord's references to His death made in the course of His ministry were scanty, though Mark x. 45, Matt. xx. 28, and the institution of the Eucharist contain germs of thought from which a fuller doctrine might be developed. Consequently these passages are rejected by many critics, not on textual evidence, for there is none against them, but on alleged internal evidence that they must have been later additions. The question arises here whether critically 'sifted' utterances from Christ's dis-

courses as given in the Synoptic Gospels are to be accepted as the ultimate standard for Christian doctrine. There were special reasons why our Lord's references beforehand to His death were brief and scanty. He found it difficult to make the inner circle of His disciples understand the mere fact of His approaching sufferings and death, and it was not likely that He would enter into a full explanation of a fact which to them was as yet meaningless and incredible. But 1 Cor. xv. 3 shows that Christ's death for the sins of men was taught from the very beginning. Is it likely that such doctrine was 'invented,' or that it grew up in a few days without any warrant from the teaching of our Lord Himself? If all Christian teaching is to be rejected that does not figure largely in the discourses of the Master recorded in the first three Gospels, how would it fare with the Church's doctrine of the Resurrection, of our Lord's Own Person, or the existence and functions of the Church? On all these points Christ's explicit teaching as recorded by the Evangelists is slender. To all such subjects His saying is applicable, 'I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now.' Jesus showed a certain reserve even in His claim to the Messiahship; He had first to teach men what Messiahship meant. The narrative of the Agony in the Garden, the *Eloi* utterance on the Cross, and such passages as Luke xii. 50, Mark x. 32 illustrate the reticences, as well as the revelations, of the Saviour. But what He did teach in the institution of the Eucharist alone is sufficient to show that on the subject of His atoning death, as on others, He dropped words which served as pregnant germs intended to develop later. Christ Himself was still teaching when the Holy Spirit brought His words to remembrance and made them a way-guide into all truth.

Such a general principle would no doubt be accepted by the Bampton Lecturer. For, as Harnack has said, every great personality reveals a part of what he is only when he is seen in those whom he influences; and the more

powerful the personality, the less can the sum-total of what he is known by what he himself says and does. 'A complete answer to the question, What is Christianity? is impossible, as long as it is restricted to Jesus Christ's teaching alone.' This dictum applies especially to events the scope and significance of which could only be estimated after they had actually occurred.

Dr. Rashdall's treatment of the writings of St. Paul, which form one of the chief difficulties in the way of his theory, seems to us particularly unfair and unsatisfactory. He complains for instance of the 'inconsistencies' of Epistles which were poured out from an overflowing mind and heart because they do not present the outlines of an elaborate 'scheme' with the rigour and vigour of a modern theorist. Paul's doctrine is alive, because it was drawn from his own living experience and had been brought home with power to the living experience of multitudes. Being alive, St. Paul's teaching concerning atonement and forgiveness is marked by the spontaneousness, the freshness, and the variety of life. He does not present a strictly logical substitutionary theory, because he did not view the Saviour as, strictly speaking, a substitute for the sinner, but he uses language which at times may bear a substitutionary interpretation. What Christ did and suffered on behalf of men can only in some respects be described as acting or suffering in their stead. Again, there is no real inconsistency between the sacrificial and the mystical elements in St. Paul's teaching. The two are easily fused in living experience—were indeed so fused in the experience of Paul himself and of many of those to whom he wrote. 'He loved me and gave Himself for me' is not incompatible with, 'if one died for all then all died,' or 'Ye died and your life is hid with Christ in God.' Forgiveness for Christ's sake is not inconsistent with life in mystical union with Him, but a necessary preparation for it. Justification is the beginning of sanctification. Paul pressed home the importance of Christ's work *for us*

that he might prepare the way for a description of His work *in us*. Rom. iii. is not inconsistent with Rom. vi., and the teaching of both is gathered up in the triumphant strains of ch. viii. ‘Who shall condemn?’ is the prelude which finds its fitting consummation in ‘Who shall separate?’

It is said that St. Paul’s doctrine ‘exercised no influence,’ that in the Church it was ‘side-tracked,’ regarded as a backwater, rather than a current in the main stream of thought. Yet all histories of doctrine show to how great an extent 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Johannine writings are ‘Pauline’ in the language they use concerning the death of Christ and the forgiveness of sins. The early chapters of Acts form an exception to the rule, for these describe the Church before St. Paul’s conversion. The writings of Ignatius, Justin, and Irenaeus bear marked traces of the same doctrine of salvation—one which is not peculiar to St. Paul personally, but represents a strain of teaching present in the Church from the first, but more fully developed by the great Apostle of the Gentiles than by any other teacher. There are many evidences of the value which the early Church attached to the sacrificial aspects of the work of Christ and the objective significance of His death, independently of its all-important effects upon the mind and heart of the believer. The universal observance of the Eucharist from the very first and the importance attached to it form a standing monument to this feature of New Testament doctrine. *Lex orandi lex credendi*. But this part of the subject opens up vistas down which it is impossible here even to glance.

III

‘A full and complete philosophy of salvation would involve nothing less than a philosophy of the universe.’ With this sentence of Dr. Rashdall’s we are in full agreement. One main reason why the subject of Atonement is at the same time so fascinating and so difficult is because in considering it we are at the burning centre of all world

problems. Many able Christian teachers fail to deal successfully with the subject because they see so clearly one part of the sacred Temple and vehemently insist that it is the whole. They are right where they affirm and wrong where they deny—a judgement which many will be disposed to form concerning the writer of the latest Bampton Lectures. The whole history of the doctrine of Atonement illustrates the wealth and many-sidedness of what St. Paul calls the πολυπόιος σοφία of God in the redeeming work of Christ, and at the same time the narrowness of vision which even the best Christian teachers have shown in their attempts to understand and unfold it.

The preachers and teachers of to-day have a great task before them if they are to unfold adequately the doctrine of the Cross to the present and coming generation. The attitude of men's minds indicated by that vague but convenient phrase 'modern thought' towards this central doctrine of Christianity, cannot be easily summed up. Presuppositions undoubtedly exist in the minds of many thoughtful men to-day, some drawn from physical science, others from philosophy—whether metaphysics or psychology—others from the comparative study of religions, which make the doctrine of the redeeming work of Christ hard to accept in some of its older forms. The changing ideas of men have not altered either the great central facts and truths of the gospel or the deep, central needs of the human heart. But the modern teacher, if he would enable those around him to understand and feel the import of these great verities, must be able from fresh points of view to show their relation to current ideas and so enable men of to-day to realize how the needs of sinful humanity are still met in Christ and can only be fully met by a full-orbed teaching of the *whole* Christ of the New Testament—His life, words, miracles, suffering and death, resurrection and ascension, and His present operation in the power of the Holy Spirit. All things were created through Him and unto

Him ; in Him all things consist and cohere ; and through Him it pleased the Father to reconcile all things unto Himself—having made peace through the blood of His Cross.

It is because the Dean of Carlisle, while worthily magnifying the love of God in Christ, fails to appreciate the holiness of that love, the demands of that holiness, and Christ's vindication of it, not only in word but in a great Act of judgement, that we are unable to accept his lectures as an adequate exposition of his great theme. God is ready, it is said, to forgive a sinner on his repentance. But can men adequately repent without entering into the full meaning of the Cross and so understanding what sin is, what it entails and ends in, the heinousness and ' exceeding sinfulness ' of sin in the sight of God ? It is difficult enough at all times to teach the multitude of men who ' are not worrying about their sins ' what is meant by true contrition. If the message of the Cross is one of love alone, not of holy love, which burns as a consuming fire, only a part of the truth is proclaimed. If no reparation to broken law is made, no vindication of righteousness needful, if all that men need to be told is that God loves them and freely forgives any who say they are sorry because they are not as good as they might be, then the shallow religion which sometimes goes by the name of Christianity will become shallower still. The needs of the conscience must be met and the conscience itself needs to be enlightened and educated. Its sharp sting often needs to be made sharper still before the real work of forgiving love can be wrought in the heart. Part of the answer to the question, ' What must I do to be saved ? ' is undoubtedly, Repent. But another part is, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ—not only as Teacher and Example in the way described by the Dean of Carlisle, or as a martyr like a higher Socrates or Stephen, setting a noble example of self-sacrifice for the sake of others, but, Believe in Him as Saviour, who bore our sins in His own body up to and on the tree, in Him who, as Lamb of

God, bore and made propitiation for the sins of the whole world, that He might bear them away for ever.

It may naturally be said that such general statements as these, especially when expressed in Scripture language, do not meet the specific difficulties which confront the preacher of to-day. It has been found impossible to bring this part of a large subject within the compass of the present article, except in the briefest possible fashion.

1. Popular misconceptions of Divine truth arise very largely from the misunderstanding of figurative language, or what is held to be a 'logical' deduction from it. The perversion of Christ's words concerning His life as a ransom for many current for centuries in the Church, which represented the ransom as paid to the devil, is a well-known example of this. Another was furnished in a recent controversy as to whether our Lord's death for us was that of a substitute or a representative. The fact surely is that neither word is strictly applicable to what is a unique relation existing between the Saviour and the human race, though either might be employed to indicate certain aspects of the work which He accomplished on our behalf and partly in our room and stead. The terms 'merit' and 'satisfaction' have proved fruitful of misunderstanding and error.

2. So with the true meaning of Reconciliation. Scripture speaks of man as being reconciled to God, not of God as needing to be reconciled to man. But a God of holy love cannot look with the same eyes upon a disobedient sinner and a returning penitent and a son who has rendered long and loyal service. In popular speech, as illustrated by well-known hymns, God is said to be 'reconciled' when He forgives. The frown of anger caused by disobedience is changed into the smile of welcome given to the returning wanderer, though the Father's heart has yearned over the exile in the far country, no more worthy to be called His son.

3. The 'vindication of the eternal law of righteousness' and 'maintenance of the moral order' are cumbrous

phrases to express one element in the Atonement of Christ. The 'Rectoral' or 'Governmental' theory, so well represented by Dr. Dale—though objection may be taken to both titles—upholds great truths that must be maintained if the consciences of men are to be rightly guided concerning the world's redemption. God's inviolable holiness, His horror of sin in its most plausible as well as in its repulsive forms, the danger of under-estimating sin, and the need of Divine Judgement and condemnation of it, are truths to be set forth in a faithful preaching of the Cross as well as His inestimable love in redemption. But it is in the region of the highest ethics and in the relation of personalities, divine and human, that the ideas of law and righteousness are to be developed and they must not be fettered by the limitations, or lowered by the associations, of government and legislation on the merely human plane.

4. The principle of Evolution is in one form or another now recognized as an abiding factor in the history of life, and its relation to the Christian doctrine of redemption needs fuller and closer study.¹ The death of Christ as a fact in history is a sacrifice offered 'once for all,' as the writer of Hebrews constantly insists. But it does not constitute an exceptional and unintelligible break in the continuity of history. The redeeming work of Christ forms a unique epoch in the unceasing development of God's eternal purpose. Whatever be the correct translation of Rev. xiii. 8 the Christian believes in a Lamb who has been slain and offered in sacrifice from before the foundation of the world. The relation of the doctrine of Atonement to other theological doctrines, some of which have been presented in very questionable forms—original sin, the fall, predestination, election, eternal punishment—demands separate study. But believers in Christ, who died for our sins

¹ Some aspects of the subject have been handled in a suggestive little book entitled, *Evolution and the Need of an Atonement*, by S. A. McDowall, Cambridge University Press, 1912.

and rose again for our justification, can, over against the history of a terrible growth and development of evil, rejoice in the working of an infinitely mightier Power of Good, which, though often seeming baffled, is pursuing its course to certain victory. And the secret of victory is in the Cross.

5. Once more, the implications of the doctrine as regards the nature and character of God must be borne in mind. There is no need to have recourse to a 'finite' God, such as seems to attract some minds to-day. The phrase a 'suffering God' may mislead. But these terms represent a reaction against schemes of divine 'attributes,' more philosophical than religious, a procession of lofty abstractions with an ill-understood Omnipotence and a remote and chilling Impassibility leading the way. Mr. H. G. Wells' speculations concerning a Veiled Unknowable Being in the background of the universe, man's real worship being reserved for a young and courageous 'God,' who as a finite Hero suffers with men and battles with them for victory, springs from an impatience with the idea of God as it has too often been presented. The solution of his difficulties is to be found in that very doctrine of the Trinity against which his bitterest denunciations are directed. But the teaching of the New Testament concerning Father, Son, and Spirit has been for Mr. Wells and some others so obscured by ecclesiastical metaphysics and popular misconceptions, that it may rather hinder than help the realization of a living, loving, redeeming God. The Christian gospel proclaims that the Son of God Incarnate in suffering and dying for the sins of men, revealed the measureless holy love of the Father and by unfolding and bringing home to men's hearts the mystery of that suffering love the Holy Spirit is preparing full deliverance from evil for an erring and disobedient race. . . . And yet there are found those who say that the doctrine of the Cross has been worn threadbare, that it has lost its atoning power, and that it may without much loss be dropped out of modern Christianity!

TWO ITALIANS: DA VINCI AND D'ANNUNZIO

PRECISELY four hundred years ago there died at the chateau of Choux, near Amboise, the greatest artist of all time—Leonardo da Vinci. The wonder of the world to-day, as it wanes, is perpetually revived by news of some fresh exploit of a modern Italian artist, a literary artist, and more or less anxiously awaits the next demonstration of his picturesque political activity. Nothing could be more apposite or illuminative than to study the two men and their achievements in conjunction. Their characters, with superficial similarities, are at root so diverse that both their parallel qualities and interests and their disparate characteristics and principles will assist the comprehension of each other.

The contrast of the two men commences with their birth: da Vinci, the illegitimate son of a peasant woman and a Florentine notary; d'Annunzio, the son of the Duchessa Maria Gallese di Roma. The similarity of the two commences with their education: da Vinci trained in the workshop of the great Tuscan sculptor, Andrea Verrocchio, whose works are amongst the noblest products of the Italian Renaissance: d'Annunzio attending the College of Prato in Tuscany. As da Vinci was distinguished by precocity in mathematical ability which embarrassed his tutors, so d'Annunzio exhibited early unusual literary power.

D'Annunzio has attempted a certain versatility which cannot fail to remind us of the unique versatility of da Vinci and his amazing power in every sphere; an immortal painter, a pre-eminent sculptor, a genuine poet, an accomplished musician, an inventive engineer, a great scientist, and as a thinker, a prophet, a philosopher, one of the

supreme minds of history. He was indisputably the greatest engineer of his age, developing the principles of scientific road-making, a pioneer in the science of canalization, an expert in the construction of fortifications. He was an authority on ship-building, foreshadowing the steam-boat, and of amazing inventiveness in designing war-engines of all descriptions. There is still preserved one of his letters to the Duke of Milan, asserting his ability to construct instruments of warfare which have evident resemblances not only to pontoon bridges, but to such recent inventions as poison gas and tanks. We need not be surprised that he anticipated these things, for did he not invent the flying-machine?—almost. His remarkable investigations into the subject of aviation were hampered by his failure to devise a suitable engine. If only this could have been discovered, the problem of flight would have been solved,—that is to say, there is little doubt he would have eventually fashioned a machine capable of flight, if only for a very short distance. D'Annunzio also has been interested in flying, but of course incapable of applying the same original genius to the subject. One cannot escape the impression that, mingled with what no doubt was a genuine interest in flight, there was also a certain recognition of the advantages in the way of public advertisement derived from his activity in aviation. A suspicion of theatricality, of posing before an easily impressible Italian audience, clings persistently to the modern artist and all that he does. Had flying been an obscure science, the study of which, of whatever value to humanity, would not have brought him into the limelight, we are inclined to doubt if Signor d'Annunzio would have essayed it. For ten years he has been concerned with aviation, and an opportunity for distinguishing himself came in the war. We do not wish to deprecate d'Annunzio's bravery. That, all must admit, despite the theatricality of much of his behaviour, is a genuine quality and one of his most

attractive characteristics. *Poseur* he may be, but coward he certainly is not. His courage was shown in his taking part in that daring raid in August, 1918, when propagandist pamphlets were dropped over Vienna.

D'Annunzio's versatility is that of ingenuity rather than range of intellect. We may have misread his character, but he seems to have occupied himself with varied subjects with the idea of showing that having won fame as a poet, that does not exhaust his genius, he will be a novelist; having become the foremost of living Italian novelists, it occurred to him that in drama he might win yet more renown; having gained so much success in literature, he became a politician; then aviation attracted him as providing new scope for public activity. Of such nature seems his versatility to an impartial external observer. Now this is very different from the multitudinous labours of da Vinci. His versatility sprung naturally and inevitably from the mobility and extent of his intellect.

Let us compare the achievements of the two men. D'Annunzio is representative of a great deal of modern Italian literature, but unfortunately he represents those qualities we must condemn and despise as well as its excellences. He first came into notice as a poet, his 'Primo vere' in 1879 bringing him at once a certain reputation and a welcome from the Cronaca Bizantina group at Rome. His early poems are graceful and musical, but disfigured by blots of unhealthy passion. Many volumes of poetry have come from his pen since then, and despite their power of imagery, their rhythmic charm, the mastery of words, their poignant portrayal of passion, all through them runs this morbid symptom. There is a kind of greatness about his poetry, a fertile resource not of ideas but of emotions, and a most moving style, which would be admired enthusiastically, were it not that he so often disgusts by descending near to the border line of legitimate subjects for art. It has been said that he turned to fiction, because

the concision and limitations of verse interfered with that luxuriance of words which is a feature of all his work. He became the foremost exponent of that school of Italian novelists whose extreme realism is akin to that of Zola, yet different and with a stronger tincture of pathological obsession in a single phase of life. With d'Annunzio, as with most other Italian novelists of his school, a sensuous variety of love is the chief subject ; and one comes to the conclusion that they all consider that this particular mode of the sex feeling, which if it is sometimes irradiated by gleams of more spiritual feeling, more often hovers near the shadows of sensualism and sometimes crosses the border into the unclean, is the only subject which can possibly interest Italian novel readers. These writers are obsessed by the least splendid side of sex, chiefly concerned with illicit love. They are not absorbed in its delineation, of course, to expose its evil consequences, but because of the possibilities of luxuriant description of physical facts and morbid psychological analysis it provides. Love of an unsavoury character is portrayed with gross voluptuousness and remorseless investigation of mental states which, if they exist, are no more fit subjects for a writer than the filth of a city for an artist. D'Annunzio is excessively absorbed in the ugly side of sex. A rampant Hedonism is his creed. The pursuit of pleasure is very evidently the one article of faith to be deduced from his novels, and it is always pleasure that arises from the gratification of the senses and the lower impulses. His style is distinguished. He has a remarkable power of graphic description, an ingenuity of psychological analysis, which demands our admiration. But it is unwilling admiration, for we are distressed by the sordid and pathological elements.

D'Annunzio is open to the accusation of having availed himself of the realistic method in fiction to concoct gratuitous immorality. Those who have read his works only in English translations cannot judge the truth of this

charge, for in these versions great parts, sometimes whole chapters, are omitted, in order to make the public sale of them possible in this country. French editions also are usually expurgated. Not only are d'Annunzio's books unsuitable for perusal in girls' schools ; there are elements of inherent viciousness and depravity. Before leaving this unpleasant aspect of d'Annunzio's art, one cannot avoid the contrast of his treatment of the baser things of life with that of da Vinci, for whom nothing was absolutely vile, who discovered that the most nauseating and horrible refuse can be converted to fine uses and be transformed into materials for an artist's palette.

A genuine expressiveness of language d'Annunzio undoubtedly possesses, a rich and flowing style of considerable power and flexibility. But he often falls into prolixity, a lack of control which is a symptom of decadence. Sometimes his characters deliver long rhetorical speeches filling chapters, which have no connexion either with the plot or the characterization of the story. Carried away by his eloquence, he embarks on endless irrelevant digressions. Having a facility in composing series of impressive phrases, he becomes intoxicated with high-sounding words.

The fame of da Vinci rests upon surer foundation than that of the modern Italian. Of his supreme genius few authentic works remain. Only a few paintings survive for us, but these of strangely spiritual significance visible through their translucent sensuous loveliness, a few drawings infinitely precious, and the scattered leaves of his notebooks. In these latter, preserved in the museums of London, Paris, and Milan, the miraculous range of his intellect is apparent. His *Treatise on Painting*, a compilation from these notes published in Paris in 1651, is one of the world's great books, and to painters an inexhaustible mine of suggestions. Has any other human intellect rivalled the immense sweep of his powers ? He turns from the evil consequences of babies' swaddling clothes

to the construction of a silver lute in the form of a horse's head, fulfilling the acoustic laws he had discovered ; from the advantages of studying in bed to the correct manner of representing a tempest in art ; from the building of a clean stable to the hypocrisy of monasticism ; from pity for a calf taken from its mother to the slaughter-house to the most advanced processes of mathematics. But we cannot catalogue the activities of this gigantic intellect. Mr. C. J. Holmes, the Director of the National Gallery, has recently stated that from further passages in the huge collection of notebooks he left, passages deciphered but a short time ago, it is certain that he had advanced in science to a stage which 'annihilated the whole Mosaic cosmogony, the whole story of Creation. . . . Had such an epoch-making discovery been published, the conflict between science and religion would have begun on the spot, Luther might have been silent or forgotten, and Leonardo become immortal as the leader of a new Reformation, and probably as its martyr also. . . . Small wonder that he kept this secret locked away in an almost indecipherable manuscript.' The more one learns of this Italian, the more one is inclined to account him the greatest human intellect of which we know.

Da Vinci was superbly confident in every essay of his genius. 'There is no capable man, you may believe me, except Leonardo, the Florentine, who has no need to bring himself into notice, because he has work for all his lifetime.' So he wrote, and how foolish, vain boasting it would have been in any other man. But for him it was true. Of his personal life we know little. He journeyed from Florence to Milan to prosecute his studies and his artistic plans. It is said, but remains doubtful, that he visited Armenia, that he wrote a book of marvellous description about the Caucasus, that he was appointed engineer to the 'Devatdar' of Syria. We might go on for long in this strain. That few personal details have come down to us is quite com-

prehensible, for he devoted himself to his vocation with a concentrated, exclusive fervour surpassing the asceticism of any monk. He was reticent, avoiding society, save that of colleagues or patrons, in his absolute service of art. ‘A man who serves two masters makes neither a good artist nor a good companion.’ He spared himself no utmost effort, no final pang to achieve the completion of his mastery of art, of science, of philosophy. ‘Barbarous is he who saves himself,’ he wrote. Of his person we know nothing, except that he was handsome and of magnificent strength. It was said that he could break with his teeth an iron horse-shoe. Of his end we know that he died an exile in France.

What was superb confidence in da Vinci becomes in d’Annunzio vanity and childish boasting. We may quote anecdotes in abundance, for he is one of those men who are made to be gossiped about, one of those public characters whose private life is sufficiently eccentric in its details to feed the curiosity as to such matters which possesses certain classes of the public. The Italian papers have published inventories of his amazingly profuse wardrobe, his hundred gorgeous cravats, his seventy-two shirts, his purple umbrellas, and so on. All Italy knows of the tomb he has built for himself among the Apennines, near the source of the Pescara, that river constantly mentioned in his books. All Italy knows of his telegram in reply to an invitation from an agent in South America to deliver a course of lectures for £3,000. ‘I was inclined to cross the Atlantic, but not for a packet of cigarettes. Thanks nevertheless.’ He has delighted to describe his horses, of which at one time he kept over forty in Florence, his sensations in hunting, a sport of which he is an enthusiastic and certainly a spirited follower, and his methods of work. He sits in his golden robe through the night among his statues, writing in the romantic light of an antique lamp. He prides himself on the rapidity of his composition, com-

pleting a play of 3,000 lines in seventeen days, and on the extent of his vocabulary. 'Many people use only 800 words. I employ 15,000, which I cull from different volumes, some taken from an old book on agriculture, some from an old translation of Ovid, others from Machiavelli's works. Old Italian authors are my daily bread. At my villa I have the third best collection of Italian words that exists.' The public knows all about his strange pets: the salamander to which he became so attached that its dead body was placed under the mantelpiece of his study with a marble slab above it, inscribed in gold with 'Beatae salamandrae sacrum,' the goldfish he watches affectionately and calls Lou-Pe-Li-Tel.

How different is all this grotesque eccentricity, this indifference to public curiosity, from the reticent confidence of da Vinci, his self-contained determination! He finely practised that whole-hearted devotion to a life of thought, that solitary concentration on art, without which the attainment of supreme excellence is impossible. In one magnificent passage in the *Treatise on Painting* he speaks of this necessary seclusion of the artist. The artist should be solitary in order that neither physical comfort nor external interference by unintelligent praise or superficial criticism may injure the thriving of his mind. If you are alone, says da Vinci, you belong wholly to yourself. He recognises that this devotion to art will be incomprehensible to the world. The artist will appear a mad devotee. Well, he continues, such an impression will make it easy for him to pursue his course assiduously and without hindrance. He must be indifferent to public comment.

A common element in both da Vinci and d'Annunzio is their love of the fantastic, but yet for what different reasons are they attracted by it! D'Annunzio's fantastic pets and grotesque surroundings are the superficial craving for the strange and queer, together with, one suspects, a seeking after reputation for eccentricity of genius. Da

Vinci saw in the fantastic one phase of the mystery of the universe. One might apprehend this quality from the types he depicted : the men of his pictures with thin, subtle, reticent lips, the women with haunting smiles, provoking, mysterious. Pater, the literary exponent of the elusive in art, has, as everyone knows, subtly analysed his *La Gioconda* and set forth as no one else the peculiar mystery of his art. It was the mystery of the spiritual which perpetually engaged him. ‘Our body is dependent on heaven, and heaven on the Spirit.’ Of the materialists, claiming to have exhausted all explanations of nature by their doctrines, he was contemptuous. ‘Oh, human stupidity ! do you not perceive, though you have been with yourself all your life, that you are not yet aware of the thing that you possess most of—that is, your folly ?’ Everything he saw or read or heard of touched his omnivorous, sensitive intellect. He recognised the infinite mystery of existence, revealed momentarily to the penetrative mind. Nothing is too small, nothing too large for his insatiable intellect. ‘Snow taken from the high peaks of mountains might be carried to hot places and let to fall at festivals in open places at summer time.’ Such fantastic speculations ever allured him. Catching a glimpse in the streets of Milan of a face that pleased him, he would follow it all day to satisfy his fancy. ‘Guiliano da Maria, physician, has a steward without hands,’ he writes. The grotesque always caught his interest. Once he collected a number of reptiles, toads, lizards, efts, newts, and vipers, and taking them to his room, dissected them. Picking out a portion of each, he constructed with infinite care a horrible thing, to strike terror into all who saw it. The incident is significant of his genius, so sensitive to the fantastic in the mystery of life.

D'Annunzio and da Vinci are both of them pagan in spirit, but with a diverse paganism. For certain aspects of beauty d'Annunzio has a real love, a pagan delight

in the beauty of youth and pleasure, and a gift of conveying this in a torrent of impassioned words. His picturesque descriptions evidently express a genuine enthusiasm, but it is intemperate and tinged with decadent incoherence. The beauty of youth and pleasure and all other delicious things is but the external, transient beauty of the world. Da Vinci rejoices in this surface loveliness, but his art does not stop there. It penetrates to the underlying spiritual significance. In his paintings loveliness of form and colouring is subordinate to the deeper and eternal beauty of character and of spiritual meanings. Scientist as he was and deeply interested in the material phenomena of the universe, he was also a seer as firmly convinced of the spirituality of the universe. D'Annunzio's gospel is a tempestuous, rhetorical, illogical version of that of Nietzsche—blatant self-assertion, egotism, indifference to all claims which conflict with one's own desires. Like Nietzsche he is frankly non-moral, repudiating all restrictions, all conventions, all authority, and exalting the continual exercise and development of 'the will to power.' But it is not so much in gaining force as in enjoying pleasure that d'Annunzio apparently believes the highest good to consist. Surely that is a more ignoble conception than that of Nietzsche, a kind of travesty of Nietzsche's doctrine by an altogether shallower nature. Da Vinci's gospel—but in his case the word is not suitable, for he is too great an artist and too comprehensive a thinker to have a gospel in the sense that d'Annunzio has—da Vinci's philosophy is lucid, coherent, calmly assured, expressed with no loose rhetoric,—non-moral yet spiritual, despising barriers of authority and convention, when these hamper the evolution of the soul, but seeking the final good in universal truth and beauty. Da Vinci wrote, 'If the object of love is base, the lover becomes base.' We are justified in deducing from his writings that d'Annunzio believes that however base the object of love, a graceful mode of depicting the

love, a rhetorical description, will transform the passion into something precious and desirable.

In their attitude to sorrow, pain, and death both da Vinci and d'Annunzio are pagan. May we not detect the characteristic which distinguished da Vinci from Shakespeare, from Goethe, from Michael Angelo, and other intellects of comprehensive genius, in his incapacity for suffering, for receiving the intimate ministry of pain and sorrow ? Did Leonardo ever weep ? At any rate he never experienced the common burden of human grief. Some profound note is lacking in him and in all that he did—the note of human sorrow. He cannot move us in the ultimate depths because he stands aloof from human trials. His calm curiosity scrutinizes all things, his deep wisdom contemplates all experience, but he never himself suffered in unrequited endeavour, the pang of failure, the betrayal of his heart. D'Annunzio turns from sorrow with impatience. For old age or suffering or misfortune nothing is too repulsive, too merciless to say of them. That they can possess a noble and beautiful side he tacitly denies. He turns from them as from loathsome things, and the only ideal life is a perpetual round of sensuous, if not sensual pleasures.

It is when we turn to politics that the contrast between the two men is so emphatic. Da Vinci is not concerned with that extended egotism we call nationalism, but with a much greater and more enduring thing—European civilization. D'Annunzio has from the first found an outlet for his self-assertion, his pride in extreme national fervour, in sounding a blaring note of imperialism. This fierce nationalism is in his case an aspect of his own egotism and nothing more. It is thirty-one years since he visited a squadron of the Italian navy, and with the materials thus acquired painted a sensational picture of the dangerous neglect of naval power by the Government. Then came the ' Naval Odes,' wherein a real and intense passion for the sea was

united to a fervent imperialism, founded on force, a glorification of the warships that maintained empire, songs of the splendour of great guns and deathly engines of war. When Italy warred against Turkey in Tripoli, he inflamed the youth of Italy by his impassioned poems preaching an aggressive imperialism. In 1914 and 1915, before Italy entered the war, he agitated ceaselessly for intervention. His literary reputation, his pseudo-romantic figure, his genuine bravery, his energy impressed the Italian public deeply. During the war he continued by his writings, his speeches, his exploits on active service to retain their admiration. His theatricality, his gesturing, his self-conscious publicity of demeanour, his advertisement of himself —these pass undetected by the greater part of Italy. They applaud him and his sentiments, without realizing that it is the applause he is seeking.

When denouncing the neutrality of Italy, he exalted the ideals of the Allies. Though France, in which he had resided, evoked his highest enthusiasm, for England, too, he professed immense admiration. We must not depreciate the service he performed for the cause of the Allies in arousing Italy to participation in the conflict, and to his own people in sustaining their *moral* during the struggle. But all the while there was another note present in his poems and speeches, the note of exaggerated nationalism, overriding imperialism. When the war was over and the Peace Conference attempted to assert the ideals of the Allies in practice, he revealed beyond mistake the reason for his vehement support of the war. The purpose of Italy's participation, as he conceived it, was to further her own imperialistic aims without reference to the broader issues of a European settlement. Friendship for the Allies was quickly discarded when they hindered this policy of blind selfishness. In February, 1919, he referred to the English as a 'people of five meals a day, who having,' with Italy's assistance, 'easily finished their

bloody task, open their jaws again to devour what they can.'

Patriotism is a noble sentiment, but not the tawdry imitation which d'Annunzio preaches. Da Vinci knew a finer thing than patriotism—the service of humanity. He was a 'good European.' In his composition there was not a trace of self-conscious itch for fame. He stands not for ingenuity or meretricious facility, but for culture and calm and quiet wisdom. The nationalism of d'Annunzio would have seemed to him like the distension of a personality irritated by its limitations and seeking a spurious universality in the identification of the exaggerated aims of the State with the assertion of his own individuality. Da Vinci was an Italian, but he did not allow that to obscure the fact that he was a European. If d'Annunzio finds leisure from his romantic gesturing in Fiume to think of da Vinci, he probably does not feel the reproach of the contrast. But to us it is very patent.

ANTHONY CLYNE.

RELIGION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Religion in the Labour Movement. By G. N. BARNES, A. HENDERSON, GEORGE LANSBURY, CHARLES GORE, and others. (Holborn Press, 1919.)

Labour and Religion, 1910; *Christ and Labour*, 1911; *Gospel of Labour*, 1912; *Workers of the World*, 1913; *Soul of Labour*, 1914; *Together at Last*. By Seven Leaders in the International Labour Movement. (Holborn Press). *Eighteen Years in the Central City Swarm*, 1913; *How Old-Age Pensions began to be : A Record of a Social Marvel*. (Methuen, 1909).

No one will dispute that among the forces which dominate our life to-day, one of the chief is Labour. As is stated in the first of the volumes cited : 'The ascendancy of Labour in the life of to-day is obvious. Announced a generation ago, disbelieved, then derided, now dreaded, it is everywhere tangibly present. It holds in its hands the levers of the subtle mechanism which supplies our food, our shelter, and every means of communication. The world, always dependent upon Labour, was not aware of the fact. Now it is aware : and Labour is aware.' The Labour Movement is manifestly the growing event of modern history.

Almost within living memory we have seen most phases of its main advance. We have seen Labour—white and black—emancipated : Labour protected by a great array of Factory Acts ; Labour given the rudiments of education ; Labour enfranchised : Labour organizing itself in Trade Union, Co-operative Society, and ever larger Federation ; Labour as a national unit, and tending to become an international unit ; Labour a world force claiming not merely political sway, but a share in the management of industry ; making governments and the largest aggregations of capital tremble at its approach.

How does this new giant stand in the presence of the oldest and most authoritative expression of human life? How does self-conscious Labour relate itself to religion? The answer to this question is given in the small library of books cited at the beginning of this article. In the first it is pointed out: 'On the Continent religion has been too largely the bulwark of the upper and official classes, a convenient department of State for the buttressing of the established order. In this country, thanks to the variety and vitality of the Free Churches, the official grip has been much slackened. But even in this country, whatever be the numbers of the working class in attendance on this or that denomination, organized religion has been to a very great extent under middle and upper class direction. English religion has been painfully bourgeois. It has rarely or never been frankly proletarian.'

We cannot expect Labour to continue in religious vassalage to the classes whose yoke in other spheres it is resolutely breaking. Attention is drawn to one "terrible fact." 'For well-nigh a hundred years, since the first Reform Bill, the church and chapel-going people have had absolute political and industrial control of the people of Great Britain; and at the close of their ascendancy what do we find? Nearly one-third of the people insufficiently fed, insufficiently clad, and insufficiently housed, slums blotting our cities and villages, and at the same time unprecedented aggregations of wealth. The planting of a few missions, more or less imperfectly equipped, in the back streets of our great cities, or the establishment of a few remedial agencies here or there, cannot for a moment outweigh the damning fact. The religion of the middle and upper classes has apparently allowed them to leave things to come to this dreadful pass.'

In America the sway of plutocracy is said to be even more repellent to the artisan. Quite recently a meeting of Christian ministers in the centre of the steel industry was

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confronted with the official figures of a Government return which showed that in time of peace steel workers were employed mostly from 60 to 70 hours a week, often from 70 to 80, and in not a few cases more than 80 a week ; they were also kept at work on Sundays as well as weekdays. The ministers expressed not a word of regret or protest, merely lamented the lack of diligence among the working men ! But a protest against Sunday football was brought forward with intense zeal. It transpired later that one of the chief ministers present was a millionaire, his wife a multi-millionaire in the steel industry, and that the company present included the pastors of nearly all the steel millionaires of the city. In churches so financed and shepherded, the modern working man can hardly be expected to feel much at home. An Italian taxi-driver is reported as saying, ‘ We cannot see religion for the Church.’

So, we are reminded, self-conscious Labour, repelled by the alien atmosphere of bourgeois religion, has begun to inquire whether within itself there is not found something of the nature of a religion to satisfy its needs. On the Continent Social Democrats have discussed whether or not their own principles supplied the requisite religion. In Great Britain the inner religion of the Labour Movement has found its own distinctive expression, which is given at length in the volumes cited. The reader will probably prefer to have a brief and consecutive narrative of the facts rather than a critical appraisement of each volume.

The story hangs round the Browning Settlement. This Settlement was founded exactly twenty-five years ago. It stands at the very heart of Central London, in what Sir Walter Besant called ‘ the metropolis of the working classes,’ the two millions dwelling south of the Thames. The Settlement was commenced under a very strong sense of mandate from the living Christ. Its inaugural address declared that it stood for the Labour movement in religion. The Labour movement in general was described as an endeavour to get

for the workers more of the good things in life. The Labour movement in religion was an endeavour to get for them most of the best thing in life. It was then pointed out that the leaders of British labour were mostly religious men. It was said—in 1895—‘There is among the workers of this land a great and rising tide of religious life. It runs very largely outside of the Churches. It has been flung waste and wide, without proper means of outlet. But there are signs that it is washing out channels for itself.’ This Labour movement in religion might shortly be described as the call of the Christ to the workers of the world, and their response to His call.

With these convictions the Settlement began. Every May since, Labour Day or Labour Sunday has been kept as a religious festival, at which the address was given almost invariably by a Labour leader. But before the aim so expressed could be worthily attained, Providence put into the hands of the Settlement certain great movements of social beneficence. The provision of work for the workless on a national scale was first obtained by the Queen’s fund for the unemployed, which her Majesty allowed to be stated as initiated by her at the suggestion of the Settlement. The movement of old-age pensions, played with by both the historic parties in the State and dropped by both, as involving an expenditure too colossal for either to undertake, was mysteriously entrusted to the Settlement and carried, after ten years’ agitation, to victorious enactment. The demand for national old-age homes in place of the workhouse was also launched by the Settlement, and by a wonderful answer to prayer was made legally possible. The Settlement also pressed on the authorities the solution to the housing difficulties of London to be found in improved locomotion—a better organized system of transit for sweeping the central and congested populations out into the suburban area. The strategy of Providence so disclosed seems to have proved to the working people beyond dispute

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the genuine purpose of the Settlement to ameliorate their lot. It also brought the Settlement into closest touch with the leaders of British Labour. So was made possible a fuller development of the Labour movement in religion.

Instead of keeping the first of May as a religious celebration of Labour Day, the first seven or eight days of May were kept as a Labour week, consisting of two meetings on Sunday and one in each of the intervening evenings. The addresses delivered were an appeal to the workers for personal religion, and the appeal was made by Labour leaders, mostly Labour Members of Parliament. Six such Labour weeks were held. The speakers included the most prominent, powerful, and trusted members of the Labour party. Six had been chairmen of the party in the House of Commons: more than that number have since become Ministers in office. The theme of their speeches was described by foreign witnesses. A German pastor declared it was the message and spirit of primitive Christianity. A Danish visitor said they laid all their stress on two things: first, personal devotion to Jesus Christ; and second, the Kingdom of God ON EARTH.

The Settlement which thus elicited the believing voice of British Labour is pan-denominational, worked and supported by persons belonging to all Churches. To promote religious intercourse between the workers, there was formed what is called a Fellowship of Followers. It is no Church, still less a new sect. It is a company of persons who have set their hand to this declaration: 'Jesus said, If any man would come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me. Meaning so to follow Him, the undersigned are enrolled in the Fellowship of Followers.' In the Labour week meetings the people were earnestly urged to sign there and then this declaration on printed slips laid in the benches, and at the next monthly meeting of the fellowship to sign the roll. At the first Labour week as many as 160 persons signed or re-signed the roll, and among

these signatories were the most dynamic speakers. At the present time there are enrolled in this concert of confession no fewer than twenty-five past and present members of the Labour party in the British House of Commons. With one significant exception, that list includes all the most important and powerful leaders of the party. Not since the Solemn League and Covenant has there been a more memorable document in the political history of British religion than this roll of the Fellowship of Followers. Here is a company of men, on their advent into Parliament, in the formative years of their Parliamentary history, avowing themselves followers of Jesus and stating that their one aim is to make His Will prevail in public life, to diffuse a religious atmosphere in the legislature, to give statutory expression to His care for the widow and fatherless and homeless and crippled and aged and all that have need, to take stumbling-blocks out of the way of love to God and love to man, to make real the Fatherhood and the Brotherhood as manifest in Jesus. These are the explicit declarations of the men themselves, given with transparent sincerity and burning zeal. Is it any wonder that shortly after the first Labour weeks a Liberal Member stood up in the House of Commons and said, 'Do you ask who created the British Labour Party ? I will tell you. It was created by Jesus Christ.'

As is witnessed by these books, the Labour weeks have created a profound impression. Their proceedings have been published in whole or in part in English, Danish, Finnish, Spanish, Dutch, German, and one address in the kindred Science week has appeared in Arabic, published at Cairo. These books have been warmly welcomed by the Archbishops and by many other leaders of Churches at home and abroad, and amongst them professors of theology, Reformed and Lutheran. One of the latter described the Danish translation as the best work in living theology he had seen for many a long day : it was minted from life.

The Bishop of Winchester wrote to one of the Labour weeks : 'The Church is not only a teaching Church, but a learning Church,' and he was grateful that that Church had much to learn from these addresses—by Labour men, Nonconformists, or of no Church at all ! The Bishop of London preached on Labour week before the Church Congress in 1911. He declared the British Labour movement to be essentially a religious movement, and demanded that in face of these utterances of British Labour the whole tone and texture of the Church of England should be altered. One of the most impressive of the speakers was a Roman Catholic. These are a few of the testimonies given in the volumes under review. There are many others, which go to show that we are here in the presence of a new fact, a new synthetic fact, a unitive influence operative in European Christendom.

The series of Labour weeks culminated in that of 1915. It was addressed not merely by British Labour leaders, but by a Norwegian delegate sent from the Social Democratic parties of Norway and Sweden, by the official editor of the organ of the Swiss Social Democracy, by M. Vandervelde, the elected head of the International Socialist Bureau, and M. Longuet, then member of the French Chamber of Deputies, and grandson of Karl Marx. The Norwegian and the Swiss spoke as avowed believers. MM. Vandervelde and Longuet declared themselves agnostics, but both anticipated for religion a future greater than its past had been. They bore glowing tribute to the influence of genuine Christianity, especially as shown by British Labour leaders, and insisted that it was not sufficient to reform conditions merely : we must also reform the soul. M. Longuet bade us go back to Christ and practise His beneficent revolution ! So, it is claimed, the long feud between Labour and religion was publicly healed by the most eminent of leaders. And at once both great forces were enlisted in a crusade for the abolition of war, the programme of which

has been already in part fulfilled and has been further vindicated by the logic of international needs. Here again appears a new synthetic tendency, an influence extending over a significantly wide area of life.

The absence of men at the war made further Labour weeks impossible. But early last year arrives an adjuration from Helsingfors, couched in terms of prophetic earnestness, urging the Browning Settlement to resume its work in furtherance of the Labour movement in religion by convening an International Conference in the autumn. So comes about in the first week in September, 1919, the International Conference on Labour and Religion, whose proceedings are reported in the first volume cited. It is certainly one of the most remarkable series of meetings. It includes representatives from Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Greece, and the United States. Its Labour representatives reach from extreme right to extreme left. In religion there are present Parsi, Brahman, agnostic, nondescript, as well as many varieties of Christian.

The conference is opened by the Right Hon. George Barnes, Labour member of the War Cabinet, who makes a great speech on the dangers of materialism to the workers. He warns them against thinking too little of those unseen forces which in the long run move the world. He insists that the Labour movement is no mere affair of bread and butter; it is essentially a religious question, a question of man's proper place as man. The Norwegian Social Democrat follows with an inquiry whether Socialism has lost its soul. But the main question before the Conference is: Is there a religion implicit in the Labour movement, and can it be made explicit? Both questions are answered unanimously in the affirmative by men of all shades and grades of thought. The first Labour Lord Mayor of Bristol says the Labour movement is based on the fundamentally religious ideas of sacrifice and service, the spirit of fellowship and brotherly helpfulness, and the ideal of justice.

Mr. George Lansbury, most lovable of men and extreme of agitators, editor of the *Daily Herald* and devout Anglo-Catholic, declares the religion in the Labour movement to be already explicit in the brotherhood of man based on the Fatherhood of God, manifest in Jesus Christ and His Sermon on the Mount. A Parsi, head of the Labour Union of Madras, Mr. Wadia, asserts that Indian Labour is essentially religious, and recognizes the brotherhood of religions. In his Trade Union Hindus of all castes, Moslems, Parsis, Christians, work side by side in amity, believing there are many roads but only one goal.

In picturesque contrast is Senator Vinck, from Belgium. He declares himself an agnostic. Before the war he was an admirer of German culture, but the war has convinced him of its essential immorality. Its doctrine of 'Success, whatever the means !' whether Prussianism or Bolshevism, threatens the very existence of civilization, if not of humanity itself. Therefore he has started a movement for training the conscience, for inculcating what he calls 'transcendental principles of morality,' without which society cannot be saved. Let us not quarrel about origins, but formulate the principles. He thinks we need a comprehensive formula to embrace all upward workers in the Labour movement. He himself believes that Christ has given the best formula. He has the pretension to act as a Christian, though he can no longer believe as a Christian. He holds that over against their opponents, who speak in the Name of Christ, the Socialists are the Christians in Belgium. But now they need to think of their positive responsibilities, their ethical problems, and the religious implications of the Labour movement. He says that he cannot accept the 'anthropomorphic Divinity of Christ,' but he does not disguise the fact that the moral homage of his life is paid to Jesus.

After Senator Vinck stands up Charles Gore, late Bishop of Oxford, highest of High Churchmen. With great

deliberateness of speech and intense earnestness he seeks to make explicit the religion implicit in the English Labour movement. He lays down three principles in the creed of British labour. 1. The brotherhood of man, based on the purpose of the universe as expressed in the Fatherhood of God ; (2) The moral sovereignty and leadership of Jesus Christ, ‘ a Name hardly ever received without enthusiasm in the Labour movement ’ ; (3) The power and the presence of an organizing, guiding, enriching spirit, which is the Spirit of Jesus. Dr. Gore closes with the wonderful confession that though he does not much believe in a great many movements for religious reunion, he does not think we have gone one-tenth of the way we might have gone in organizing the people in all religious bodies or without specific religious adhesion who are at one in believing in the Labour movement, and are profoundly conscious that there is One Name of social salvation, the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Here indeed is a portent—a High Church Bishop of the standing of Charles Gore, looking to the religious reunion of the future crystallizing about the Labour movement !

Next day the leader of Labour in Leicester, a man beloved of the whole city, maintains that the Church is not the true representative of Jesus Christ to-day. It is for the workers to re-interpret Jesus to the present age, and to convey the new message to all lands. A Brahman in British uniform gets up to ask that men like Gore and Lansbury be sent as missionaries to India. Himself a Brahman, he admits that Christianity has a great message for the world, including India. The whole world needs religion to-day more badly than ever, and Labour needs it most of all. ‘ We need a twentieth-century Church for a twentieth-century people.’

At a later meeting the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, who is now standing on the steps of the throne of political power, insists that the need of the world to-day is a demo-

eratized Christianity and a Christianized democracy, living in daily fellowship with the Divine Democrat. The last day of the Conference is occupied in appointing a Continuation Committee and in summarizing the religious characteristics of the Labour movement as enumerated at the meetings. The intention is to send a carefully prepared statement to every important Trade Union in the world, asking for endorsement, addition, or amendment. The desire is to obtain a genuine and as far as may be universal expression by organized labour itself of the faith which it holds, and the proposal is to make this faith the theme of world-wide propaganda carried on by Labour Evangelists, men and women supporting themselves by their daily work and devoting their spare time to this new evangelism.

Such in roughest outline is the new outburst of religious life that we are here contemplating. No one will cavil at it who believes in the great promise of the outpoured Spirit which came through Joel. Not through consecrated priest or official prophet alone is the Divine inspiration to come, but through the lowest ranks of labour, engaged in servile tasks, men and women that are slaves! Nor will any shallow sneer at 'syncretism' avail with those who remember that the Parsi Cyrus was acclaimed by the prophet Isaiah as the Lord's Anointed, or that Jesus found greater faith in the Roman centurion than in Israel. It may seem strange that the dreams of synthesis cherished by learned professors of comparative religion should be on the way to practical fulfilment not by sage or philosopher, but by those who have been scornfully described as the horny-handed sons of toil. Yet, after all, is it not eminently like Jesus that He should so bring it to pass that men in all religions, no longer quarrelling over differences, but filled with the earnest desire to minister to 'the least of these'—to meet the needs of the most needy—to achieve their common practical ends in the Labour movement,—should find themselves marching side by side as comrades and brothers.

The attitude of Latin agnostics to this movement is one of the most significant things about it. Their craving for 'transcendental principles' which they know are not yielded by their previous agnosticism, their feeling out after something Beyond that shall give security to civilization and humanity, is one of the most beautiful and touching consequences of the great world tragedy through which we have been passing. But what is the movement to which these seekers after light attach themselves? It is not any nebulous philosophy of religion, not any bloodless theory of morality. No. These Latin agnostics cordially attach themselves to that Labour movement in religion which in its twentieth-century manifestation is headed by the definite avowal of the foremost British Labour leaders that their one purpose in life is to follow the Christ. No doubt those social leaders of the Continent feel strongly the influence of the British Labour leaders, who are now setting the pace to the Labour movement of the whole world. But does not M. Vinck's acknowledgment that he tries to live as a Christian, and that the best formula for combining all the upward workers in the Labour movement has been given by Christ, suggest that they feel the fascination of the supreme Personality stripped of every accretion, ecclesiastical and dogmatic? Is it not that Jesus of Nazareth, lifted up from the earth of sordid ecclesiasticism and from the trampled mud of theological controversy, is drawing men to Him from the most unexpected quarters?

This rapid narrative will appeal differently to different minds. May it not be of service in showing whither the heart of modern man is turning? As we see how the proletariat of the world turns sorrowfully away from the Churches but joyously towards the real Jesus, are we not encouraged to uncover more resolutely the essentially proletarian character of His original gospel of the Kingdom of God? Can we not make clear that there lies the true antidote to all that is evil, alike in Bourgeoisie and in Bolshevism?

F. HERBERT STEAD.

THE REAL VALUES OF LIFE

PEACE and War—these are corresponding systole and diastole of the world's heart, the world's movement, through which God energizes, by which He ever creates and recreates. He is always bringing unity out of discords, reconciling the separate or disparate, by the One pervading each part of each system and making it whole. It is through war that He disintegrates, and through Peace that He reintegrates the various pieces. He estranges in order the more to combine. But it is in war that He now holds the most effective office. The stagnation of years has been broken up by His transforming touch. The lethargy, the voluptuousness, of our modern Capua have been shattered to the lowermost foundations. And we are in the birthpangs of life in a new, unstable equilibrium. How shall we confront this terrible crisis ? Certainly not by philosophizing, not by conjuring or endeavouring to conjure with the blessed words ' Absolute Values,' which are as ineffectual as Mesopotamia, and without any meaning whatever for the practical purposes as religion. No, a thousand times no ; but by doing and suffering, by putting some activity into life. So far as Christianity is concerned, on its working side such flapdoodle stuff has no message whatever. Love, for instance, in our conception, has nothing in common with such jargon, which only conceals ignorance under a meaningless terminology of the philosopasters. We worship a crucified God, who was at once the world's failure and the world's foundation. Christ's success would not have been a victory, but a supreme disaster to society. Julian the Apostate cried out at the last, *Vicisti, Galilaeo !* because He was not Victor but Victim ! We are told now, but not by Professor Percy

Gardner, that 'wherever Christianity has triumphed, it has done so by ceasing to be itself.' This shows *docta ignorantia* in its profoundest form. Christianity, on the contrary, accepted the good and beautiful in every religion, it rebaptized their best features into its own greatness, thus transfiguring and glorifying every one and everything. Heathenism and paganism, even fetishism itself, all contributed something to the grand total. The false systems endured so long, just because they contained something vital in them. Fortunately the old language, till Greek came, admitted of no deceptive expressions, such as 'Absolute Values.' But it was essentially metaphysical. It remained for the Greeks, with an over subtlety, and the Germans, with their hypostatizing of attractions, to lead us astray here as they have led us astray in so many other ways. Can any one worship an 'Absolute Value'? Perhaps Voltaire, but surely none but he. And if he had done so, he would have built another church to it, and would have cemented the walls with ridicule, and shown some fallacy latent in every stone—had he written up, *Deo erexit Voltaire*.

Valeat quantum valet, the old saying is perfectly true. But now we have changed all this and say instead, *Omnia omnia valent*. It was an evil day for religion when such a vague epithet was first taken into philosophy, as the mystical key that solves every difficulty but its own. It seems to have superseded Coleridge's priceless 'Open Sesame,' namely 'omjective' and 'sumjective.' And now, whenever we find ourselves in a fix, we have only to call on the 'Absolute Values' to redress the balance and redeem the situation. But, after all, the word in question is merely the Latin equivalent of worth. But, as every man has his price so now we may well believe that every man has his 'absolute value.' Still, like all terms, the significance of this delightful word is probably always changing. And the values of the past are not the values of the present, nor

will they be those of the future. Technical terms pre-eminently in science and philosophy are always expressing more or less than they used to express, though usually less. For plus is the sign of the future. Accordingly, we have to displace any technical terms from power, and replace them with those of a richer and more suggestive character. Frequently the terms 'Absolute Values' mean nothing at all. They are purely transcendental symbols very much in the air, crying out for proper use or a speedy interment. Like the canon, who when asked if he would accept a particular bishopric, said he had been buried alive so long he had grown used to it, and thought that on the whole he would choose *interment* rather than *preferment*, as he had become accustomed to his country grave and to *otium cum dignitate* and would shrink from the *odium sine dignitate* of such a post. Besides, he was not a good sailor, and was not prepared to face the stormy 'see' which he understood was to be offered him.

Besides, what was the real meaning of that very elusive word 'Value.' It is utterly and entirely relative in its significance. One man's 'Value' is another man's 'un-value' or worthlessness. It is an exceedingly 'mobile' term, as Bergson would say, for ever changing its ground and import. Gold possesses no 'value' for babies or children, and diamonds or pearls would be wasted on swine. The place, the person, the time, have all to be considered. And an African savage would find more attraction, as an edible dainty, in a handful of maggots than in a handful of precious stones. The man dying of hunger and thirst in the desert would welcome a cup of water and a few dates, and simply curse you for mocking him with the offer of boundless riches. 'Value' must be measured by need and not by its 'absolute worth.' 'Give us this day our daily bread' or the bread suitable for the day. To call a man's 'worth' so many pounds, or so much landed estate, is to talk in the air or nonsense. He is 'worth' nothing that he cannot

use for the best possible purposes in the present or in the future. If it goes in the mere satisfaction of mere physical commands and has no true purchasing power, his property is no better than 'faery gold.' Tell us what a man is or what a man does, and we will soon ascertain his 'value.' A millionaire, who prides himself on his shabby dress, once said in company, 'To look at me nobody would say I was "worth" anything, and if I were put up for sale by auction, I should not fetch more than the clothes I stand up in—namely a dollar or two.' Fortunately for us, except among a few metaphysicians, worth does not go by mere appearance. But if we could see and measure the exact capacity of any one soul, we should probably know his exact worthiness. In our commercial age, the sole standard of man's preciousness is his income or market price. But the Greeks knew better than this, though they knew well what commodities would fetch in the market at any given time.

'*Graeculus esuriens ad coelum (jusseris) ibit,*' their estimate considered man as he approached the good and the beautiful, they gauged him by moral and spiritual judgments, and they never forgot the body as the outward and visible expression of the soul. *Mens sana in corpore sano*, they required, as did also the Romans, who appreciated most the manly qualities or manly worth necessary for fighters in a fighting world of ethnic enmity—i.e. *virtus*, literally manliness. The man was the most virtuous who could best defend his country. Their standard also was spiritual and not material. They were well aware in what excellence consisted and which counted most in the struggle for life. Mere physical 'value,' though esteemed at its proper rate, did not rank very high with either Roman or Greek. These anticipated by centuries all that is good and true in eugenics, but they placed in the forefront not physical perfection, but the moral and intellectual and spiritual faculties, which the eugenists conspicuously omit from their very limited programme.

It is a very curious and significant fact in these days of decadence to find a merely mercantile term now employed in the scales and vocabulary of ethics and metaphysics. Moral rot and spiritual degeneration must have travelled very far and descended very low indeed to attain this supremacy in judgements. We must revert to the ultimates and the beginnings, if we want to know the truth about values, and not beg the question beforehand, by passing certain very disputable data. We seem to have forgotten how to quantify our predicates, and often start with some tremendous *Hysteron-Proteron*. In fact at the present day we seem to expect carts to draw horses, and not horses to draw carts. And words used as metaphors only at first soon become construed literally and accepted as ordinary and universal factors. We cannot escape the necessity of pictorial language, but we must always remember when we employ it in current phrases, that it is only pictorial language. Of course, it is natural that we should borrow illustrative terms from the field and the workshop, from the market, from the court and the camp, from the dicasteries and the shops, from the land and the sea and the air, the playing-grounds of our sailors and soldiers and flying youths, from the schools and universities, that breed the makers and breakers of law. Discipline and duty are only learned through rebellion, when broken heads follow broken laws, and lives must be broken before they can be made whole.

But we must separate, when possible, the natural from the artificial 'worth' and never confound the two. Nobody and nothing must be valued in a false aspect. For man is not 'worth' so much money, so many coal mines, so many manufactories, so many huge stores. But he stands for so much *soul*, so much *spirit*, so much *reason*, so much moral or *mental activity*. He may possess millions, and yet be without anything. He accumulates when he gives, loses when he hoards for himself. The more he invests out of

himself for others, for good, for God, the more he keeps as permanent treasure. And capital consists not in getting but in giving. He is ‘worth’ just what he never keeps for selfish purposes. How hardly shall they that have riches, that trust in riches, enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are the poor—not the rich. For a man’s life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. ‘Let us not lay up or put by for mere personal use. We are accustomed to lives of luxury so that we are quite unable to measure things in the proper balances, and we place the material first. ‘Worth’ does not arise from mere symbols or counters or tokens, but from moral or intellectual or spiritual estate. It is property that we can carry out of this world into the next. We shall not be able to drive into heaven in a coach and four or even in carriage and pair. Naked we came into this world, and naked we shall go out. But, though we cannot take our so-called ‘valuables’ with us, we can and shall take our ‘invaluables’ with us. Our immaterial goods will go with us. We must revise our standards, and reverse our estimates. Life, if it be of any real ‘value,’ is made up of well-calculated judgements, it is a criticism of things, it is a weighing in the balances, it is a scale of adjustments and readjustments, putting things in their proper places, setting the first first, the last last—not the last first. ‘Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness.’ We seem to have lost all idea of perspective, all ideas of proportion, we are morally and spiritually blind and deaf, our spiritual perceptions have long been debauched and depraved, they have grown atrophied or ossified. If a man realizes that he is in danger of death, eternal death, what would he endeavour to save from the wreck of destruction? Would it be his gold and silver, his pictures, his Capo di Monte China, or any of his priceless rarities? No, on the contrary. For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, and what shall a man give in exchange

for his soul ? His 'value,' all along, has been artificial and not real. Many tradesmen, in war time, strove to sell their commodities for as much as they could get, and not a fair price. But time in the end redresses things, and brings goods round to a juster level.

We must alter our ideas fundamentally on the subject of 'value.' It is easy enough to raise the 'worth' of things, by tricks well known to profiteers and to jugglers who gamble with a nation's food supplies to their lasting discredit, and to rig the market by false misrepresentations. But life for every decent man is a very serious matter, it is not peculation or speculation or a game of hazard, when the counters (to speak metaphorically) are the souls of men. The war has told us that we must recast our 'values.' The present commercial age is dying, and dying hard. We are up against it in all our forces and the infinite mercantile menace. The fact that many writers, in spite of and not because of their philosophy, like Eucken (before the war) and Benedetto Croce and others have pronounced the inauguration of the Kingdom of the Spirit, should satisfy thoughtful men that we must disestablish the old material doctrines and establish the immaterial. For never, in any epoch of the world's history, notwithstanding occasional contrariety, has there been such an uprush of all the most robust qualities of manhood and womanhood. The best masculine and feminine virtues, courage, endurance, devotion, unselfishness, have come to the front and shown a vital transvaluation of all the old so-called 'Values' and an appreciation of the humbler and less esteemed. Patience and the heroism of incessant self-sacrifice gave to the weakest and most insignificant actions in the Great War a kind of historic dignity and splendour in a few months or even weeks, which generally require the passion and agony of adventurous years. War is a criticism of life by death, a constructive succession of creative 'values'—dynamic and not static. And, to possess any meaning, 'worth'

should be progressive 'worth,' a kind of spiritual wealth that is for ever increasing its capital and giving fresh interest in its outcome of humanity and virtue. The moral qualities ever tend to transubstantiate the many physical and intellectual, and to exalt them while they correspondingly enlarge and beautify themselves. War turns into ethical revaluations and transvaluations all that would be otherwise 'worthless.' It makes the sinner a saint, the coward a hero, the blackguard a gentleman, the mere adventurer a chivalrous knight errant in quest of the Holy Grail, the hooligan into a haloed master of impossibilities, and elicits the divine spark latent in every man, which only awaits the kindling opportunity to set it in a blaze of blossom, a glory of flame. While the anaemic metaphysician classifies his bloodless categories and pursues his frantic chase of the 'Absolute Values' which have no existence outside his diseased imagination, neither reason nor religion, the soul that is at hand-grips in war with iron realities and the supreme issues is adding 'worth' to 'worth' in his actual collision with facts and the innermost savageries that so often clothe the most dazzling jewels, the diamond to be found in the dust, in the muck and mire of life. And this Armageddon is also a spiritual one, and goes on in every heart that has once awakened to the seriousness of things and a resurrection from the death of sin and selfishness to the campaign of righteousness. We feel that we are on God's side, fighting His battle for Him and with him, under the Captaincy of Christ and the banner of the Cross.

Service is an honourable estate, and Christ Himself was a Servant, and it carries with it no stigma whatever. But now we find little or no regard for others, with purely sordid and unreasonable demands which often bring positive torture to the aged and to invalids and the dying. Change, novelty, increase of wages, are a perpetual passion with too many who refuse to see the other side of the case, with a

selfishness which gives the lie direct to Christian precepts and practices. But when servants are treated as friends, as the majority are in these days, and mistresses even share their toil on equal terms, it is strange that servants do not take a pride in their duties, and will not do their best and utmost, and respect the highest values. They should remember the Master, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many. We decline to believe that the self-sacrifice shown daily for four years by our glorious boys on sea and land has no counterpart in our girls at home, and that the cruel war through which we have passed will not finally awake in all, as it has awaked in some, a really religious temper in devotion to the Empire's needs, and that loyalty which lies at the base of Christianity. Though they may not feel the call now, at this moment, in their better moods and thoughts they will surely learn at last the truth of those immortal words—‘It is better to give than to receive,’ ‘in love serving one another.’

F. W. ORDE WARD.

THE FIRST LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL¹

AMONG all denominations and varieties, not only of the metropolis itself but of the great provincial capitals, it will be matter of real regret that Lord Russell of Liverpool should have enjoyed for so short a time the honour conferred not only on him, but on the active workers of his craft, by the peerage that crowned a many-sided, a miscellaneous useful, and genuinely distinguished career less than a short year ago. The twentieth century's third decade just entered upon could have removed no better or more finely-tempered specimen of intellectual, earnest, diversely accomplished, and thoroughly representative Englishman. The city of his adoption has lost in him one who for more than half a century (since 1869) laboured to advance its best interests, civic, social, political, and spiritual ; the fellow workers who survive him will miss not only a colleague but a born leader of men. The vocation for which he proved his fitness in earliest youth will not soon or easily replace the gifts which constituted him its pillar and ornament. No one came into contact more prolonged or close with the most characteristic life and action of the periods through which he passed. None went on his way more deeply in the regard and confidence of all ranks and conditions. The entire company of newspaper men, 'the harmless drudges,' as Samuel Johnson called them and the lexicographers, includes not a single periodical contributor to the contemporary history of the world who personifies so many links with the literature, the journalism, the art, the religion itself of so many epochs. Whether it was the Stanleys that made Liverpool, or Liverpool

¹ *That Reminds Me*, Historical reminiscences by Sir Edward Russell; *Shakespearean Pamphlets*, *Hypothesis in Religion and Art*, *An Editor's Sermons* (by the same author).

that made the Stanleys, is a point on which opinions have always differed, and will continue to do so. It was neither the Lords of Knowsley nor the newspaper offices on the Mersey, but the goodly heritage to which he was born and the family traditions of copy-slips and printers' ink which made Edward Russell 'commence journalist' soon after the music of his native Bow bells first fell on his receptive ear. Throughout all the last century's first half London had a press as essentially provincial in its interests and outlook as Little Pedlington itself. In many cases, however, these parochial prints could boast something of an illustrious lineage, deriving themselves, as in the Clerkenwell quarter they did, from '*Sylvanus Urban*' (otherwise Edward Cave, 1691-1754). His were not only the classic *Gentleman's Magazine*, but the more ephemeral sheets which the Rugbeian newspaper runner—for Cave was not born or bred a Cockney—started with a legacy received to encourage his youthful promise. It was a sheet of this kind that first opened itself to Edward Russell while yet a boy. Benjamin Disraeli first 'took notice' in a library; the cradle of Viscount Morley of Blackburn was rocked in the surgery. Lord Russell of Liverpool knew the editorial ante-room. Then came the gradual ascent that landed him in the office of *The Morning Star*. Not, however, immediately, but only after experience had been gained and maturity disciplined in that cottonopolis, then scarcely second in journalistic importance to London itself. There Michael James Whitty, a Wexford maltster's son, seven years before the Victorian Age, had established himself at the first point he touched after crossing St. George's Channel. Before his final settlement he gave himself a thorough look round London. During these experiences of Fleet Street, or at latest on a second visit soon afterwards, he only returned to the Lancashire capital after helping to start the movement, the abolition of the newspaper stamp. In that enterprise he had for his colleagues

Alexander Russel, of *The Scotsman*, Mowbray Morris, manager of *The Times*, Knight Hunt, of *The Daily News*. All these gave very telling evidence before the Parliamentary Commission of 1851. As for Michael Whitty, he had now become a most prosperous Liverpudlian worthy, doubling the part of head of the police and *The Liverpool Journal* owning editor. In 1855 he struck out a new line, and brought into existence the earliest penny paper of the United Kingdom, *The Liverpool Daily Post*, with the future lord, then E. R. Russell, for his chief assistant.

In 1865 came another change of quarters. Russell reappeared in Fleet Street, at the office of *The Morning Star*, before any final subsidence of the alarm inflicted on timid, reactionary Toryism at the prospect of the sedition, terror, and blasphemy sure to be propagated by a cheap and corrupt press. What had actually happened was this. The Stamp Act repeal reduced by a penny journals previously sold at fivepence, excepting only *The Times*, which still secured an additional halfpenny for its supplement. Somewhere about the year 1845 the Lord Fitzbooby of Disraeli's novel was beginning to discover that 'some of these Wesleyans, by Jove, were quite respectable people !' At the same time, a relative of that nobleman was heard in the bow-window of White's to remark confidentially to his walking-cane, 'Really these penny papers are well conducted and may not bring about the ruin of the country, after all !' There still lingered an old-world atmosphere of hearthsider tranquillity about the newspaper system in which Russell now took his place. More than a decade, indeed, had passed since Frederick Rogers, a personal stronghold of the Oxford-Newman-Pusey connexion, subsequently Lord Blachford, was asked by the John Walter of the day to try his hand at a *Times* leader. At first he flatly refuses; pressed once more, rather thinks he will, if it is kept an entire secret. That assurance being given, he is set to work. Walter lives above the office in Printing House Square, starts his

new recruit on a subject, and when the writer has got fairly into his work, calls him down to dinner with Mrs. Walter and himself. A simple, well-cooked meal, leg of mutton and apple tart—these dishes dispatched, and the lady having left the room, Walter asks for his guest's manuscript, presently returns it to him with the words, 'We will say more about it at tea-time.' Before then Rogers has put the article through; on taking his place at the tea-table, he finds Walter standing before the fire and reading aloud from the proof his completed work. The Fleet Street scenes in which Russell found himself were not of an idyllic domesticity such as this. Still, the journalistic interior presented a contrast sufficiently striking to that known at a later, or indeed, at any other date. Some time before then, a Duchess of Bedford had introduced the post-luncheon refection long since acclimatized in Paris by the title of 'five o'clocking.' Round the five o'clock table, *Star* editor, leader-writers, and other contributors of importance gathered—amongst them, of course, Russell, Leicester Buckingham, together with Tom Hamber, then editing *The Standard*, a singularly picturesque Fleet Street presence, and son of Silk Buckingham, who founded *The Athenaeum*. Leicester Buckingham, equally productive as a writer of leaders and farcical comediettas, eventually held for some time the reins of the paper. Milner Gibson occasionally looked in at these reunions, as did far more regularly John Bright, one of the paper's proprietors. The occasional writers numbered many young Scotchmen who afterwards made their mark in the Colonial Service, amongst them the future Sir John Gorrie, Chief Justice of Mauritius.

As for the great 'tribune of the people,' he once or twice gained admission to the leading columns, but finally came to the conclusion that the literary acrobatism of turning a sixpence was not in his line. Throughout most of Russell's *Star*-time, Justin McCarthy was being preceded as editor by Lucas, of whom Russell, in his grave, dignified

way, adding to the humour of the words, told a story worth repeating. Some time before his death the great French advocate and orator, Pierre Berryer, on visiting England was publicly entertained by the British Bar. It was known that he would acknowledge the toast of his health in his native tongue; in this only one of the *Star* reporters was even slightly at home. He, therefore, had been told off to take down the speech of the evening. The comrades of the paper, as they pursued their evening toil, looking up at the clock, wondered more than once how their representative at the dinner was getting on. "I should not be surprised," whispered Russell to his neighbour, "if, like Don Juan, he has just called

Unto his nearest follower or henchman,
"Oh, Jack, I'm floored by that 'ere bloody Frenchman!""

Concerning another of the Russell anecdotes, I can vouch for its accuracy because I heard it from the two persons to whom it immediately relates. The already mentioned *Standard* editor, quite the most militant figure on the then Tory press, asked to dinner at an ultra-Conservative house in Eccleston Square, found, as he approached the place, that he had forgotten the number as well as the name of his intending host. 'This,' he said, 'looks like it, for the front door is on the jar.' Boldly entering in, he made his way unannounced into the guest-room. Instead of the social lights of Conservatism, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others whom he expected to meet, he could identify only the magnificent, leonine head and broad, burly frame of the great master of Anglo-Saxon eloquence who first became member for Birmingham in 1857. Next to that arch-enemy of the party whose chief editor he then was, Hamber, nothing daunted, contrived to squeeze himself, the single strayed Conservative, of course, in the company. Bright did not know him by sight, nor did Hamber disclose his identity to any one. The evening drew to a close; Cobden's old friend and colleague was about to depart for

St. Stephen's when his host expressed a hope that he did not regret having accepted the invitation. 'By no means,' was the answer, 'and I quite enjoyed the ingenuous breeziness of your Conservative guest on the chair next to me, though he talked, perhaps, a little too much about cock-fighting.' That sport, indeed, happened to be a favourite with the then *Standard* editor, who, some years later, was watching an encounter between two pet pugilistic fowls when the business man of his proprietor, James Johnstone, appeared at his Chiswick house with an intimation that his services were no longer required, and a cheque in lieu of notice. One more of Russell's London sights may be mentioned. He happened to be passing a few hours at the Italian opera on a 'Command Night.' Royalty had just disposed itself in the state box. The sovereign's popularity was shown by decorous applause as the Court visitors took their seat. Just then a neighbouring compartment was entered by a young gentleman fresh from his university, whose name that morning had headed the Mathematical Tripos. The newly-made Senior Wrangler had not noticed the Royal arrival; his face beaming with modest pride, he never doubted that he was the object of the chastened demonstration. Naturally, therefore, he walked with his young lady to the front of his box, bowing his acknowledgments to the crowded house.

Meanwhile, Edward Russell's intimacy with those who were making the political history of their time did not confine itself to the oracles and priests of the Manchester school. Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Minister, and W. E. Forster in the same degree as Gladstone himself, not merely as Liberal statesmen but as upright, high-minded representatives of the national character, left upon him a lifelong impression. These were personal influences which made him the first newspaper man of his time to exchange the leader-writers' gallery for the floor of the House. As Michael Whitty's right-hand man on *The Liverpool Daily*

Post, Russell, by this time, found himself again in Liverpool and in close touch with other magnates of its press, especially John Maitland of *The Mercury*, afterwards merged in *The Post*, Hugh Shimmin, Sir John Willox, or those who at that time carried on the enterprises he had begun. From the clay-pipe and shirt-sleeves period of the original Savage Club to the extinction of Bohemianism marked by that society in its existing regenerate and transformed shape, Russell had seen a Bohemian and precarious calling transform itself into a regular, a well-paid, and puissant profession, whose representatives bring ambassadors, bishops, and billionaires to their gala nights, even give them a lift in their motor-broughams as they drive home.

There's a curse in the words, deny it who can!
There's a curse in the words: 'I'm a gentleman.'

So, on Russell's earliest introduction to them, chanted the primitive Savages, gathered round their two real men of genius, the fiercely, aggressively republican, Robert Barnabas Brough, Lionel Brough the actor's elder brother, and E. M. Whitty, Michael Whitty's son, the founder of Parliamentary character-sketching, the literary ancestor, therefore, of latter-day masters in the art like Sir Henry Lucy and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, each of whom probably has surpassed his earliest master.

With equal closeness in very different quarters this dramatically many-sided man touched the Church and the stage. Lord Russell of Liverpool was one of the few who had seen the signature Margaret Farran (not Farren) in the register of the early nineteenth-century Earl of Derby's marriage by special licence in Grosvenor Square to the most fascinating burlesque actress of her time. As Liverpool editor and citizen, he had much at different times to do with all the Knowsley nobles of his time, from the 'Rupert of debate' to our present Paris Ambassador. With the theatre of his own day Edward Russell's links were not only those of artistic interest or personal friendship but of

family connexion. His elder son married the daughter of Tom Robertson, who, in conjunction with Sir Squire and Lady Bancroft, George Honey, and Sir John Hare, took the chief part in socially and intellectually re-creating the stage. Russell himself, while the new star was still not quite seriously taken by all, first predicted that Henry Irving's brains and concentration would bring him fame and fortune. Dr. Percival had not long exchanged the Clifton headmastership for the Hereford bishopric when he said to me, 'Have you read a book called *An Editor's Sermons*, by Edward Russell, of Liverpool? It combines as much sound sense with deep religious feeling as one is likely nowadays to see.' Lord Russell, born in the Established Church, remained to the end its earnest and loyal son without being blind to any of its deficiencies or failures. The man, however, of all others with whom spiritually he had most in common was R. W. Dale of Birmingham, Dr. Jowett's predecessor at the Carr's Lane chapel. 'I have been talking to-day,' Dale once said to him, 'with a friend fortunate enough, as he himself feels, and as I believe, to have enjoyed the blessings of divine communion, almost unbroken for years together.' This privilege, it is no exaggeration to say, came within the reach of Russell himself. That which he first found himself to have in common with Dale was a dislike and dread of professional sacerdotalism; frankly Erastian in his leading ideas of religious polity, he saw an increasing danger to practical piety and holiness of life both in the antinomian view of the impeccability of the elect not less than in the growing pretensions and the very latest devices of the Anglo-Catholic priesthood. Throughout the war his patriotism showed itself in a most impressive manner, and he could not be more appropriately succeeded than by the grandson, Captain Edward Frederick Russell, whose services were rewarded by the Military Cross.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

DOES THE CHURCH PROLONG THE INCARNATION?

II

IHAVE spoken of the isolation and the overdriving of the image of the body for the Church to the neglect of figures like a house, or a temple, or a bride. Even more might be said about the neglect of the figure which is so prominent when the Church is called an ecclesia, a citizenship, or a people, or a nation of Christ—a spiritual and universal nation. This neglect is but part of our larger neglect, not to say defiance, of the Kingdom of God and His righteousness as the ruling thought of Christ in everything. He did not come to give us a new vision or idea of God, except in so far as that was involved in securing the kingship of God. To be sure, the relation of the Church to the Kingdom is still a matter of some dispute—whether the Church is identical with the Kingdom or the unique and essential means to it as an end. We might combine them by saying that it is the Kingdom in its nonage, the Kingdom in the making, the Kingdom inchoate, the one society on earth that has the Kingdom and nothing but the Kingdom for its principle and end. The first stages are means to the great destiny as the end. But in any case the Kingdom, the nation, is not the prolongation of the King, even if, like Alfred, he might be said to have made it.

If we treat the Church as the extension of the incarnation of the Son, what becomes of the Church as the habitation of the Spirit? Are we moving towards a ditheism by the entire identification of the exalted Son and the Spirit?¹ The living thing in the Church has always been taken to be the Holy Spirit. It will hardly be said that the Son provides

¹ I am not raising this very difficult question so much as suggesting the way in which the idea I am discussing breaks up the orthodox Trinitarianism of those who hold it.

the vitality of the Church and the Spirit the practical and intelligent guidance ; nor that the Son gives the status and the Spirit the piety ; which would throw Son and Spirit into a relation to each other unknown to revelation. Are we prepared to speak of the Spirit as the prolongation of the incarnate Christ ? Apart from the question of the Trinity, would such a view not destroy the element of crisis and finality, the 'finished work,' which is associated with the close of Christ's incarnate life in Atonement, and the consummation of His person in the establishment of the Kingdom there ? All that death, resurrection, and ascension involve means much more than a personal continuity of Christ as their sequel. These were not simply phases the Incarnate passed through. Even for ourselves death is more than an incident, and its survival more than just going on. There is a crisis, something more than a new stage of career : 'Tis done, the great transaction's done.' A world crisis took place in Christ's death which changed man's moral relations with God. The death of the Incarnate was in the nature of an *actus continuus* which is always functioning in its own kind in the Church's life. The theory of a prolonged Incarnation rather than an individualized Atonement is too much like the theory of mere spiritual development. I suppose the advocates of it would not regard the whole *praeparatio evangelica* in Israel, or in other history, just as an extension backwards of the Incarnation. They attach too much special value to Christ's entrance on His historic life for that. The miraculous birth, whatever it does not mean, means that Christ's entry on life here was no ordinary one. It was no person like other people that came, whether He came like other people or not. There was an absolutely new departure, whether physical or not. God was the Father of this man as He was of no other. And His entrance on the world began an Incarnation which if it had suggestions had no reality before. Whatever the Son meant in the creation of the world was reflected on a far higher plane in

His invasion of it to create a new world, and especially a new Humanity. And the Holy Ghost had to do with His coming in some unique and crucial way, as He was raised from the dead by the Spirit of holiness. If Israel was not simply the infancy of the Church the Church is something else than the prolongation of Christ. It answers the functioning of that finished crisis of Atonement which gave the Incarnation its reason to be.

Did the true prolongation of the Incarnation not follow the line of Christ's ascension and exaltation in heaven rather than the line of the historic Church on earth? And if so can we speak of his return to the Father's side as the extension of the Incarnation. As the Incarnation began with Christ's birth, did it not end with His exaltation? Was there a second Incarnation in the Church? Was there a Reincarnation of the glorified into a corporate body as contrasted with the individual body of His earthly days? Is the Holy Spirit as the Church's Life sent by the Son or is He a Reincarnation of the Son? These are hard questions for those who try to join Moehler's idea with the Orthodoxy of the Church. The life of the Church is the Spirit outpoured—the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit outpoured by Christ. It is the Spirit outpoured rather than the Son incarnated. We cannot speak of the Church as the Incarnation of the Spirit. And it is the Spirit outpoured not from the Nativity but from the Cross, and from what the Resurrection and Ascension sealed as having been done there. There was there a crisis and a finality which functions in the Church but is not just prolonged there. The Church's life was an outpoural of the effect of Christ's completed exaltation in moral majesty, His spiritual perfection of victory, His sovereign indwelling not just as the Incarnate but as the Redeemer. If we said the Spirit was the finished work of Christ's incarnate person *totus, teres, et rotundus* but always functioning anew as the redeeming power, less exception could be taken than to the notion of the extension of the Incarnation. The Spirit's

work in the Church is the new creation as a *process*, rooted in the new creation as an *act*—in *the act* of the Cross, which morally reconstituted the spiritual world. It is the procession of an eternal act. It is the completion of the Atonement rather than of the Incarnation, the fruit of His soul's travail rather than the continuance of His incarnate state. The functioning of a moral act that could not be done without Incarnation is not the same as the extension of the Incarnation.

If we are to talk of the extension of Christ, I am venturing to say that the Church is the extension of the Atonement, and of the new covenant there, rather than of the Incarnation; though even there the notion of prolongation misreads the idea of continuity, as the Mass does. It is the extension not of the Incarnate but of the work of the Incarnate. I should prefer to speak of it as the reverberation rather than the extension of what was in Christ. Any word that keeps the idea of moral polarity or response would do. It was the *actualizing* of what Christ *realized*.¹ The Church was the actualization of God's redeeming purpose rather than the spinal or caudal part of the Incarnation of its Head. It was the actualization in historic *process* of the real and finished *act* of redemption. Yet it was no mere process in the cosmic sense. Nor was it just the continuation of Christ's volition in heaven to become incarnate on earth. It was the procession of an eternal act in repeated acts and individualized persons (for the Spirit is an individualizing power), it was not the mere process of a movement or the explication of a force, or even the development of a person.² It was the reverberation, the individualizing of an act, and not merely its prolongation, which would interfere with its finality. In God the act is prolonged, if we can speak of the

¹ If we are to think with power and precision, and not only believe with traditional passion, we must use the language of accuracy which the faith that makes more haste than speed treats as pedantry.

² Christ grew during His incarnation and its humiliation. His personality developed. If the Church but prolong the Incarnation its growth means His growth still. But can we speak of growth in His exalted personality achieved and consummated in His finished work?

prolongation of an act eternal and timeless ; but in man it was reflected and answered. There was a polar and reciprocal action, on which I have already dwelt.

What founded the Church, and makes its real moral catholicity, is not so much the Incarnation as the Cross (and Resurrection). The Cross, the Atonement, rather than the Incarnation, is the source of the Spirit, the Holy Spirit of our redemption. ‘The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Christ was not yet glorified,’ as the Cross glorified Him. This proceeding of the Spirit from the atoning and redeeming Cross rather than from the Incarnation behind it is a matter of much moment. It causes and concentrates the great difference in note between the Catholic type of mind and the Reformed, between the mystical and the moral. It throws the accent on the latter, as should be done if Christ’s coming was first to establish the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. It presents the true Catholic note as the evangelical rather than the sacramental. The idea we discuss, which I find so attractive aesthetically and so impossible ethically, can land us nowhere but in a high sacramentalianism. It does not stop with the Church. If we are to speak of prolongation, the Mass is the prolongation of the Incarnation for those who treat Incarnation substantially and lay more stress on Christ’s being made flesh for us than on His being made sin for us. It is not the Church, which is rather the reflection of the gospel of righteousness, the response to the Redemption and Regeneration. We do not worship Christ because He took our nature but because He took our judgement, and so our throne. The Cross I here regard not as a device to save an elect but as the last moral victory over the world, as the reconstitution of the moral soul of Humanity, as the recovery of the moral universe. But the Incarnation is viewed by the Catholic mind as a miracle working with natures instead of an eternal moral act of spiritual kind, working with guilt by grace. This helps to explain a certain lack of response

to the moral and evangelical note of righteousness which is shown by so many alumni of a Church, and especially a Church of the *via media*, that begins everything with a substantial Incarnation, outside experience, unverifiable by it, and received on that huge *petitio principii*—the authority (not to say infallibility) of the Church, within which the world's moral redemption is found room just when we care to press it. They do not realize that it is the fontal place of the Cross which makes Christianity a religion of moral redemption. The phrase I am discussing seems to ignore the Church as a Church of those justified by the Cross for a Church of those regenerated by a sacrament. It ignores a Church of the New Creation for a Church of periodic nutrition. The new birth of the conscience counts for less than regular mystic meals.

The tendency indicated by the phrase I handle is not confined to Catholic circles. It dominates the modern type of cultivated piety, with its worship of the living Christ at the cost of the Holy Spirit. This is not surprising, perhaps, at a time when the doctrine of the Spirit is in a process of reconstruction, which is more in arrears, because, from its draft on experience, it is more difficult than that of almost any other doctrine. The religion of devout youth, for instance, is quite Catholic in this respect. Catholicism altogether but prolongs an adolescent stage of the Church. At that stage the soul does tend to feel a vivid Christ prolonged into itself rather than the *Holy Spirit* working in it. But the Church has its stability and its future by its appeal to the mature and not to the young. Its appeal to the young is to become morally mature.

And one reason for this is clear. It is the inferior sense of personality, and therefore of reality, that is vaguely felt to go with the Spirit in comparison with Christ. It is the easier contact with the historic and biographic personality of Jesus as compared with the sanctification of the Spirit in the ripe Christian *mind*. It is the fact that the Spirit has

for so many sunk into a pious subjectivity instead of ruling as a power co-equal with Father and Son in the Christian God. It is forgotten that, in the Church at least, whatever may be the case with Christian circles, the threefold God dwells by the Spirit—a Spirit which must be equally personal with Father and Son else that could not be; a Spirit also which must be personal, to exercise such a power upon personal souls.

Or, in another phase, it is held to be indifferent whether we say Christ lives in us or the Spirit. The Spirit is just another name for Christ. The one is but the other in a different situation. That is quite in Schleiermacher's vein—even in those who know nothing about the founder of modern theology. And it shares in the central defect of that genius, parts of whose great influence is working in the cultivated type of popular religion long after it has been discounted *inter pares*. To such a Sabellian way of viewing the matter the Spirit may come to be little more than the corporate Spirit of the Church, its public opinion on spiritual things, or its collective spiritual experience. Or it may sit very lightly to the idea of a Church altogether. Ritschl invites the charge, if he does not justify it. But our protest against the tritheism to which an orthodox Trinity is apt to descend must not take that line, or go to that extent. Inchoate piety cares little for a Triune God. Yet that is the God distinctive of Christianity. And here engaging youth must be gently and sympathetically withheld. Amateur theologians also with the literary touch should be recalled to a more excellent (not to say competent and modest) way.

The personality of the Spirit, I have said, is an essential condition of a Spirit dealing for a personal God with personal souls. If He is depersonalized, something is lacking to the fulness of faith or the plerophory of belief. Our Trinity begins to break up. And He does seem to be depersonalized if the Church is treated as but the Incarnation extended. The Spirit is the great individualizing power. He dwells

in our personal life (and in the Church viewed as a collective person), but in no such sense as that in which Christ's divine person dwelt in His body, or even in His human nature as a psychological constitution. The Spirit is not just the Son in a certain application. There is a reciprocity. 'He shall glorify Me, taking of the things that are Mine and showing them unto you.' 'If the Spirit of Him Who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you then He Who raised Christ from the dead will also make your mortal persons live by His indwelling Spirit in your lives.' It will not be said that the Spirit which dwelt in their several lives was other than the detailed action of the Spirit which made the life and unity of the Church.

We certainly cannot speak of the prolongation of the Incarnation in the Church in any such way as the spinal cord prolongs the brain—as if the historic Christ were but the fountain of a continued incarnation, or as if, like another Adam, He were but the first ancestor of all Christians. That might too easily lead to the false notion that the 'dispensation' of the Spirit came in to make good that defect, as a second creative act, as the true salvation by a new saving power. But there is no other salvation than that of the Cross, which has the key to all that Christ taught and all that the Spirit ever wrought.

There would be a certain attraction in speaking of the Church as the prolongation of Christ's humanity, except that it does not express with force enough the 'new covenant,' the moral crisis which founds on a new principle the New Humanity, and leads its origin from what Christ did. It does not give to society a constitution sufficiently, and passionately, and creatively moral. It does not do justice to the Kingdom of God. We might then also come to think of Christ in the way I have said as if He were but the top joint of the long historic spine, as if the head were (what Oken divined) the top vertebra enlarged to contain the enlargement of the spinal cord as brain. The Incarnation was in the historic

Cross of Christ complete in principle and power and victory. Its historic effect was yet to unfold in the series of history.

Perhaps the divine psychology of the relation between the Son and the Spirit may become clearer as thought becomes clearer about the mystery of the moral action of one human personality on another. And that will grow clearer with the growth of holy love, if the Church preach and create it as the Kingdom must amid all the conflicts and judgements which usher in the new age, otherwise hopeless.

I may add what I have said elsewhere, that there are several aspects, besides the one we discuss, where the Logos theology has impaired the moral effect of the theology of a Holy Spirit, stifled the moral note of the Kingdom as it ruled Christ, and arrested the effect of a gospel of moral redemption and personal reconciliation. What the state of man and his history needed was not a revelation of the divine constitution, nor even of truth about the divine purpose but of the divine action ; it was the revelation of God Himself in saving action ; it was not manifestation but intervention. The one decisive Revelation was Redemption, it was not about Redemption. You cannot do justice to a religion of redemption by a religion of revelation only, nor of deity prolonged into man. Christ did not become incarnate *and* redeem ; He became incarnate *to* redeem. His Redemption is both the crown and the key of His Incarnation. He was not fully made flesh till He was made sin, that we might be made righteous in Him. And the Church is not the Incarnation prolonged but the corporate and responsive personality of those in whom the finished moral redemption which was the purpose of the Incarnation functions for ever anew. In like manner the Sacrament is not Christ being offered anew but Christ, with a real presence, offering anew to us what He offered to God once for all.¹

P. T. FORSYTH.

¹ May I refer to the closing part of my *Church and Sacraments* (Longmans, 1917.)

A MERCHANT VENTURER IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

TO pass from the reign of Queen Mary to that of Elizabeth is to pass from the dreary gloom of winter to the sunny brightness and glory of a midsummer day. Philip, the detested of the English people, who had set himself with Gardiner and Bonner to destroy the heresy of the nation, the unfaithful husband of a queen whom he had unwillingly married, had left her and gone to the Netherlands. Mary would see him no more. She was very ill, really dying, when there came the tidings of the loss of Calais—‘Calais the glory of England ; the fear of her enemies ; Calais, the mart of her merchants ; Calais, the guardian of the Channel.’ It hastened her end, and deepened the gloom of the nation. The very heavens added to the depression—a continual damp through the year was accompanied by curious phosphoric exhalations which frightened many into a belief that the day of judgement was at hand. There was famine and an epidemic of burning fever.

So sank the Queen—without an heir. One memory must have haunted her with bitterness. The greatest sorrow that ever befell her was in Easter week, two years before, when she had gone to Hampton Court for her confinement. Parliament had been solemnly informed of the coming event, and masses and processions were ordered for her safe delivery. Prayers were offered by stately dignitaries that God would grant the child to be a male child, ‘well favoured and witty.’ State papers were drawn up to announce the fact to all European potentates, with the date left blank.

‘A veri sumptuouslie trimmed’ cradle was ready, and on it the quaint inscription—

The child which Thou to Mary
O Lord of Might didst send
To England's joie in health
Preserve keepe and defende.

The climax was reached when special messengers were dispatched to announce that the happy event had actually taken place. The churches rocked with merry peals. The *Te Deum* was sung. Thanksgiving sermons were preached. The news crossed the Channel, and the great bell of Antwerp rang, and a hundred crowns were given to English mariners to drink the health of the baby—*that had never come*. It was all a mistake. Queen Mary had the dropsy—that was all.

So childless, friendless, deserted by those who should have been her attendants, but who had hastened to her successor, Queen Mary passed away on November 17, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.

The people soon learned what manner of Queen succeeded her, ‘a woman of high stomach,’ as the chroniclers said. The funeral service of the late Queen was preached by Bishop White of Winchester, in Latin, which Elizabeth understood as well as the preacher. He dwelt upon the virtues of the late Queen with such a fit of weeping that he choked himself. Then he finished his oration thus: ‘Our late sovereign hath left a sister, a lady of great worth, whom we are bound to obey, for a living dog is better than a dead lion.’ Elizabeth, not yet twenty-six years of age, without ado ordered his arrest as he left the pulpit. We can think of the commotion. The bishop loudly threatened Elizabeth with excommunication, and declared himself there and then ready to be led forth to martyrdom. The wisdom of the Queen showed itself as much as her courage when she swept away with a haughty silence.

It was forty years after that Bishop Anthony Rudd preached before the Queen, and, alluding to her age, spoke of the time when the grinders be few, and they were dark who look out of the windows. The Queen bade him keep such

arithmetic to himself. ‘I see,’ said she, ‘that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest of men.’

Although it diverts us from our intended purpose, yet is there another story of Queen Elizabeth, which must be told if only to restore the reputation of the Bishops. One of her Majesty’s ‘grinders’ was aching sorely. The incident, little known, ought to be as familiar as that of Sir Walter Raleigh and his cloak. It is told by Miss Strickland in her *Life of the Queen*, that her Majesty, suffering severely from toothache, sat as the barber surgeon fetched out his grim instruments for the extraction of the tooth. Her Majesty shrank, as well she might, from such a cruel process. Unable to submit, and unwilling to endure, she sat nursing the troubled cheek when Aylmer, the Bishop of London, although an old man and having no teeth to spare, seeing her Majesty lacked courage, said cheerily, ‘Your Majesty, it is no great matter. See, I pray you.’ And seating himself he bade the barber surgeon show her Majesty, whilst he opened his mouth and gripped the arms of the chair. ‘There,’ he cried, as he held his tooth in his hand, ‘a moment’s wrench and a lifelong relief.’ So was her Majesty emboldened by the courtly Bishop, and the thing was done.

It was a new London that came with the accession of the new Queen. With unerring discrimination she gathered about her a company of statesmen who helped her to make London the capital of the commercial world. The Thames was filled with the ships of all waters, and on the wharves and quays were men in all manner of foreign dress, and with foreign speech. A census showed that in twelve years the number of foreigners had trebled, and now included some negroes and Indians. The overcrowding led to an edict that one house was to have in it but one family.

What this meant to London was soon seen on all sides. In the days of Henry VIII two-thirds of the houses in London had windows of greased paper, but during the reign of Elizabeth almost every house had its windows of glass.

When the Queen was a girl rushes covered the floor, but in her reign carpets were everywhere. All sorts of foreign fruits appeared in the markets : parrots screamed alike from the parlours of the tradesmen and from the palaces. Tobacco came to be the proper end of the dinner party, with an array of pipes that even the ladies enjoyed.

Of the enterprise of the merchant venturers it is difficult to speak without seeming to overstate the courage and endurance with which they went forth, not only to enrich themselves and the nation, but to benefit the labourers of the land. Here is the direction given by Master Hakluyt in his *Remembrance to a Factor*. ‘Thus giving you occasionally by way of a little remembrance to have a desire to do your country good, you shall do more good to the poore ready to starve for relief than any subject ever did in this realm by building of almshouses and by giving of lands and goods to the relief of the poore. Thus may you help to drive idleness, the mother of most mischiefs, out of the realme and winne you perpetuale fame, and the prayer of the poore which is worth more than all the gold of Peru and of all the West Indies.’

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He became an Alderman of London, and first Governor of the Turkey Company. He went ‘to negotiate a friendly reception in Turkey,’ sailing on board the good ship *Susan*, of London, armed with thirty-four guns. A London merchant ignorant of the Turkish language and Turkish ways must have had much skill and much courage to accomplish the treaty he sought. It was some time before he was permitted to land—a ship with thirty-four guns was not to be trusted in haste. He landed eventually, but by way of warning passed ‘pyramids of human heads freshly severed.’ After seeing a wholesale execution of refractory eunuchs he was permitted to approach the Commander of the Faithful, whom he found seated on a gorgeous throne enriched with countless diamonds, erected in the centre of a sort of golden cage. Through an interpreter he made known his request, and returned with a treaty which Hakluyt gives in full, in Latin and English. By royal warrant was given to Sir

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The journeyings of these venturers were immense, and when we remember the difficulties of travelling and the diverse foreign languages in which they had to make themselves understood, were amazing. There is a long account of one Thomas Foster going with the pilgrims to Mecca, minutely describing the journey. One extract must suffice. He thus describes the chief object of veneration, the sacred stone which very few Englishmen have ever seen. ‘ At one side of the house of Abraham in Mecca there is a stone of a span long and halfe a span broad, which stone as they say fell down from heaven, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce that wheresoever the stone fell, there should be builded the house of God, wherein God will hear sinners. Moreover, they say that when this stone fell from heaven it was white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath so often been kissed by sinners it is therewith become blacker; for all pilgrimers are bound to kiss this stone, otherwise they carry their sins with them again.’

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seventy-seven days. And there we may take up the story as written by Thomas Sanders. ‘The commoditie of that place are sweet oiles: the King there is a merchant, and the rather willing to preferre himself before his commons requested our factors to traffique with him, and promised if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no manner of custome, and they tooke of him certain tunnes of oil: and afterward perceiving they might fare better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the King to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the King would not agree, but rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the King, custome free, and so laded the same aboard.’

Enough to indicate the King they had to deal with. Now began their troubles. ‘There was a man in the said towne a *pledge*, one Padrone Norando, who was indebted unto a Turk of that towne in the summe of four hundred and fifty crownes for certain goodes sent by him into Christendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himself remained in Tripolis, a pledge until his said brother returne. After his arrivall into Christendome, as report went, he came among lewde companie, and lost his brother’s ship and goods at dice, and never returned unto him again.’

The said Patrone Norando, ‘being voyde of all hope,’ arranges with the French factor, one Romane Sonnings, to smuggle him on board the *Jesus*, that he may escape. ‘The shippe being readie the first of May, and having her sailes all aborde. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the King sent a boate aboarde of us, with three men in her, commanding the saide Sonnings to come a shoar: at whose comming the King demanded custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliver him custome free. But notwithstanding the King weighed not his said promise, and as

an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the uttermost pennie.'

Then Sonnings departs from the king and takes in his boat this Patrone Norando. 'Nowe the Turke unto whom this Patrona Norando was indebted, presentlie went unto the King and tolde him that he thought his pledge was aboard of the English ship, whereupon the King sent a boat aboard of us commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoar, and he said that he would come presently, but as soon as they were gone, he willed us to warpe forth the ship, and said that he would see the knaves hanged before he would go a shoare. And when the King saw that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe he straight commanded the gunner of the bulwarke next unto us to shoothe three shoothes without ball.'

The crew of the *Jesus*, knowing nothing of the plot between the French factor and this escaping 'pledge,' ask why they are being shot, and the Frenchman tells them that the king would have the oil back again, and bids them hasten away. 'Then all the gunners in the towne doe their indeavour to sinke us,' but the Turkish gunners failing, the king sends to the prison and offers that if any there could hit the ship he should have a hundred crowns and his liberty. Forth hastens an old grizzled Spaniard, one Sebastian, 'which had been an old servitour in Flanders.' A skilful gunner, 'the first shotte he split our rudder's head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake us under water, and the third shotte he shottus us through our foremast. And so were we inforced to goe in againe.'

The master of the ship is hanged, and false Sonnings, the French factor. The other three and twenty were condemned as slaves perpetually, the ship and goods were confiscated. So, chained in fours, they are led to the dungeon. Think of what follows, as told by this simple Sanders of Tavistock in Devon. 'Then did we all falle

upon our knees, giving thanks to God for this sorrowfull visitation, and giving ourselves wholly to the Almighty power of God, unto whom all secrets be knownen, that He of his goodness would vouchsafe to look upon us.'

They live on twopennyworth of bread a day. They lie on bare boards with scarcely any covering : 'wee were also forceably and most violently shaven, head and beard.' The story goes on. ' Within three days after I and sixe of my fellowes were sent forth in a galleot to take a Greekish Carmousell, which came into Africa to steale negroes. Wee were chained three and three to an oar, and wee rowed naked to the girdle, and the Boateswaine of the Galley walked abaft the Master, and his Mate afore the Master, and eche of them a leather thong in their handes, and when their divelish choler rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause. When we came to the place whereas wee saw the Carmousell wee were cruelly manacled in such sort we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder from the other, and every night they searched our chaines three times to see if they were rivetted. We continued fight with the Carmousell three houres and then we took it and lost but two of our men in that fight. Within fifteen dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis and were put to all manner of slaverie.

' Shortly after the King's sonne came to Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company he greatly fancied Richard Bruges, our Purser, and James Smith : they were both young men, therefore he was very desirous to have them to turne Turkes, but they would not yield to his desire. Then his father the King sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turkes ? And they saide : If it please your highnesse Christian we were borne and so we will remaine.' The King's son carries away the aforesaid young man Richard Bruges and James Smith. ' And the King's sonne demanded of them againe if they would turn Turke. Then answered Richard Bruges, "A Christian I

am, and so will I remaine." Then the King's sonne very angrily said unto them, "By Mahomet, thou shalt presentlie be made a Turke." Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him and would have him speake the words that thereunto belonged, but he answered them that he would not : and although they had put upon him the habite of a Turke, yet saythe he, "A Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force me to do otherwise." Then he called for James Smith and commanded him to be made Turke perforce also ; but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the men to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him and made him Turke.'

'Now to passe over a little,' he writes, 'and to shewe the manner of our deliverance out of that miserable captivitie. Shortly after our apprehension I wrote a letter into England unto my father dwelling in Tavistoke, in Devonshire, signifying unto him the whole estate of our calamities.' Then the father goes with the letter to the Earl of Bedford, 'who in short space acquainted her highness, and her Majestie like a most mercifull princesse tendering her subjects,'—(a comely word, that *tendering*) 'presentlie tooke order for our deliverance.' Sir Edward Osborne with all speed directs letters to the English Ambassador in Constantinople. So arrives a Commission headed by one Master Edward Barton, demanding the good ship *Jesus* with cargo and crews with restitution. 'Then the King sent forthwith for all the English captors to be brought before him and willed the keeper to strike off all their irons. So he delivered us all that were there, being thirteen in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two young men which the King's son had taken with him. And because—I had the Italian and Spanish tongues by which there most traffique in that country is, Master Barton made me his cater to buy his victuals for him and his company and delivered the money needful for the

same. Thus were we set at libertie, the twenty-eighth day of April, 1585.' Thus he finishes his record, this simple and godly Sanders of Tavistock in Devon. 'So we came home and our said Purser Richard Bruges and his fellow (James Smith) came home also, for the which we are bound to praise Almighty God during our lives, and as dutie bindeth us to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queene for the great care her Majestie had over us her poore subjects, in seeking and procuring of our deliverance aforesaid.'

In 1577 we find certain seamen of Sir Edward Osborne together with others had been thrown into Spanish dungeons, and their ships confiscated for no other reason than that they were Protestants. Sir John Smith, 'an accomplished Spanish scholar,' says Froude, is sent to Madrid to set the matter right. The Spanish Council held that the Inquisition was a tribunal over which the King himself had no regular authority. The Archbishop of Toledo was next to the King in Council and superior to the King in the power of the Holy Office. He was a person before whom princes stood with bated breath, and meaner citizens kneeled as he passed along the streets. He had refused for years before to deliver the message of the Council to Cobham *lest he should defile himself by speaking to an excommunicated Englishman.* An interview with the Archbishop was refused, but Sir John was not to be so lightly set aside.

It was after supper. The Archbishop was in his private room with his attendant priests, when Sir John, waiting for no introduction, brushed past the porter, ascended the stairs, and forced himself into the sacred presence. Sir John told him that he had been treated with scant courtesy. 'I am the minister of a great Queen,' he declared, 'and am entitled to be received and heard when I have anything to communicate.' So he told of broken promises and of the ill use of English seamen who had committed no offence. He must demand the immediate release

of those in the Inquisition's hands, with compensation for the injuries they had sustained.

'The Archbishop was dumb with amazement at such audacity. At last finding his voice he cried, "Dog, but for certain respects I would so chastise you for your words as to make you an example to all." "Dog," cried Sir John, "I tell you that I neither care for you nor your threats." "Be gone," cried the angry Archbishop. "If you call me dog," said Sir John, "I will call you dog, I will complain to his Majesty of this." "Complain to whom you will. Be off with you." "Be off yourself," retorted Sir John, moving towards the door, the angry taunts flying at each other as Sir John went down the stairs and the Archbishop stood at the head of the staircase.'

The end of it was that the seamen at Seville were released, their property restored, and good Sir Edward Osborne welcomed them home.

BASIL ST. CLEATHER.

INDIA'S TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION:¹ ITS GENESIS AND SCOPE

TOWARDS the end of last year Parliament passed the Government of India Bill practically as it had been amended by the Select Committee to which that Bill had been committed on the eve of the Whitsun recess. Vigorous efforts were made in the Commons and Lords to persuade the Government to alter the measure in several particulars. All the amendments moved in the Upper Chamber were directed towards 'whittling away' the powers it was proposed to confer upon Indians. While many of those moved in the Lower House were of that character, there were some that sought to strengthen the Bill and to make it more acceptable to Indians. The Secretary of State for India, who had charge of the measure in the Commons, refused to yield on any point, while the Under-Secretary of State, in the Lords, assented to a few changes that were, however, in the nature of drafting amendments.

The Joint Committee that, in effect, decided India's fate, included three statesmen who, in one sphere or another, had taken an important part in the formulation of the proposals embodied in the Bill that Parliament referred to it. These three were Lord Islington, Mr. E. S. Montagu, and Lord Sinha—to mention them in the order in which their connexion with constitutional reforms in India began.

As Under-Secretary at the India Office during Mr. Austen Chamberlain's régime, Lord Islington had been associated in the preliminary discussion of the changes

¹ *Government of India Act, 1919* (9 & 10 Geo. 5. Ch. 101). *Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919*. Vols. I., II., III. (Cd. 203). *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, Dec. 3, 4 & 5, 1919. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords*, Dec. 11, 12, 16, 17 & 18, 1919.

that were necessary and desirable in the system of governance in India—a discussion that had originated before Lord Hardinge of Penhurst left India.

When Mr. Chamberlain was on the point of making his statement, the Mesopotamia debate intervened, and he resigned. Mr. Montagu stepped into his shoes a few days after declaring, in the House of Commons, that the Government of India was 'too wooden, too iron, too inelastic—too antediluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes that we have in view,' that 'the India Office produces the apotheosis of circumlocution and red-tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen,' and that Britain must give Indians 'that bigger opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control, of the executive itself.' These words were uttered on July 12, and on August 20 Mr. Montagu was able to read out the declaration that was in process of formulation before he became Secretary of State, and which we were recently told is largely in Lord Curzon's phraseology, in one of those self-revealing speeches that that noble lord occasionally makes. According to that statement, the British policy in India 'is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire.'

Soon after making that pronouncement, Mr. Montagu, accompanied by the Earl of Donoughmore (Viscount Hutchinson), Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords, Mr. Charles Roberts, a former Under-Secretary for India, Sir William Duke, now Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office, and others, went to India to tour in the company of Lord Chelmsford, and to confer, formally and otherwise, with officials and Indian leaders in order to ascertain their views and to formulate proposals for

submission to his Majesty's Government. Mr. B. N. Basu was the only Indian who was permitted to join the party, and he afterwards came with the Secretary of State to assume charge of his duties as a member of the India Council, to which he had been appointed a short time before. Lord (then Sir S. P.) Sinha was, however, consulted by the Montagu Mission, and I have reason to believe that he had previous communications with both Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford before and after they had assumed their respective offices.

Lord Islington, who stayed behind to act as Secretary of State, Sir William Duke, Mr. Charles Roberts, and others had taken part in the preparation of the report that the Montagu Mission took out to India—a report that, together with a similar report drafted in India by the Governor-General and his colleagues, formed the basis of discussion. I believe that both the India Office and the Government of India schemes were based upon a principle worked out by Mr. Lionel Curtis, of the Round Table group—a principle that received from Sir William Meyer, then Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the nickname of 'diarchy.' These schemes aimed at dividing the functions of provincial administration into two groups—the more vital, such as peace, order, justice, and land (the chief source of revenue), forming a group by themselves—a group that was to be administered by officials who would not be made responsible to the Legislature; while the other functions, such as education and sanitation, would be placed in charge of Ministers who, directly or indirectly, would derive their authority from the Legislature, and would be responsible to it. Some time after the return of the Mission with a report to which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had appended their signatures, and which received blessings from every member of the Mission and also the members of the India Council and the Government of India, Lord Sinha was appointed to take the place of Lord Islington, who, as

a member of the Asquith Administration, had resigned and was not included in Mr. Lloyd George's Government.

Besides Lord Islington, Mr. Montagu, and Lord Sinha, two other statesmen with India Office experience were appointed to the Joint Select Committee, namely, Viscount (now Earl) Midleton and the Earl of Crewe. Though the latter, while Secretary of State for India, had declared his inability to visualize a time when Indians could be given Parliamentary institutions—which, in essence, was a paraphrase of a similar statement made by his predecessor, Lord Morley—he had co-operated in the formulation of a scheme to reconstitute the India Office, and since that scheme was based upon the aforesaid declaration of August 20, 1917, it is to be presumed that he had changed his mind.

The only two Britons on the Joint Select Committee with first-hand experience of administration in India were Lord Sydenham and Sir J. D. Rees. The former had taken a leading part in denouncing the manner in which Mr. Montagu had got Parliament and the British nation committed to the policy foreshadowed in the pronouncement. He did not believe that Indians were fit to be entrusted with Parliamentary institutions, and, with money generously contributed by financial, industrial, and commercial houses directly interested in India, had carried on vigorous and persistent agitation against the grant to Indians of any effective power over the executive. Sir John Rees, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, had taken a prominent part in a counter-agitation defending the declaration and the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. Two other members of the Committee had been in India—Mr. T. J. Bennett, who had spent the best part of his life in Bombay, where, at first, he edited the *Times of India*, and later became a proprietor of that paper; and Sir Henry Craik, M.P., who, many years ago, had made a short tour in India. Mr. Bennett supported the Montagu-

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Chelmsford scheme. Sir Henry Craik, while not opposed to constitutional reform, did not approve of diarchy.

The other members of the Joint Select Committee, namely, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Selborne, Major (then Captain) the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Sir Donald Maclean (who did not attend a single public session and later was replaced by Mr. F. D. Acland), and Mr. B. C. Spoor—did not possess any Indian experience, and, so far as I know, had not even visited India. The Earl of Selborne had, however, helped to frame the constitution of South Africa, which he administered as its first Governor-General. Presumably in view of that experience, he was appointed Chairman of the Committee.

The Bill that was referred to the Selborne Committee embodied substantially the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. An appendix to the memorandum sent in by the deputation of the Indian National Congress, reproduced in Volume III of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Report (pp. 22-24) specifically mentions fifty points in which the proposals contained in that Report had been 'whittled away.' The memorandum submitted by other Indian organizations, and the evidence given by their representatives, put forward the same contention, and also urged that if Mr. Montagu, in framing the Bill, had paid any attention to Indian opinion, he would have improved and strengthened the original scheme instead of weakening it. On the other hand, a comparison of the provisions contained in that measure, with the demands made by the Government of India in the dispatches published by the India Office, and the testimony, oral and otherwise, given by its spokesman, Lord (then Sir James) Meston, showed that that scheme had not been remodelled sufficiently to meet the wishes of that Government. Inasmuch as Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues had given their consent to the proposals contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, their demands were considered as a

regression from the original position, and caused bitter disappointment in India.

The evidence given before the Joint Select Committee, together with the memoranda submitted to it, cover over 700 foolscap pages, printed solidly in small type. In the course of this short article, the utmost that I can do is to indicate the general trend of the statements made.

Why were the officials prepared to consent to the introduction of a measure of Parliamentary Government into a country that not so very long ago had been declared by them unfit for all—at least a considerable—time to be endowed with such institutions? Lord Meston, while being examined by Mr. Bennett, indicated that the *raison d'être* of constitutional reform was the growth of the spirit of Indian nationalism. During the thirty-five years that he had spent in that country, there had been ‘an enormous development of political sense in India,’ due, in his estimation, largely to the activity of the Indian National Congress, born in the same year—1885—in which he began his official career. Ultimately this political awakening was the result of ‘the spread of Western education and Western ideas.’ He had been greatly struck with the rapidity ‘with which political ideas’ were ‘penetrating the people’—political ideas ‘reaching into strata of society which, even ten years ago, you would have believed could not be affected.’ Even deeper than the ‘interest in the development of politics and the desire for a larger share of administration of their own affairs’ was ‘the extraordinary spontaneous growth . . . of the real spirit of nationalism’ which was ‘a very real and very vivid influence in the life of India to-day.’ There was ‘a pride in India, a pride in its achievements, a belief in its future, which inevitably leads to a very rapid development of political consciousness.’ It was ‘sometimes a little pathetic in its vagueness and its ignorance, but it’ was there, and it was ‘growing with an enormous rapidity.’ This growing sense of nationhood would

make Indians dissatisfied with 'the most perfect administrative mechanism that' the British 'could give to India.'

That was well and truly said. No less significant was the statement of Sir Claude Hill, a member of Lord Chelmsford's Government, who appeared before the Joint Committee immediately after Lord Meston. Sir Claude stated, with a frankness that one does not associate with high officials, that 'it was evident as early as 1912-13 that the system of administration, resulting from the Morley-Minto reforms (introduced only in 1910)—especially to the constitution of the Legislative Councils in the Provinces—would require amplification and development very shortly.' The proposals made by the Government encountered from elected (Indian) minorities 'general and growing opposition.' The reason why that happened was that these minorities felt embittered at 'the solid official or nominated (by officials) block of votes.' It would not have been wise statesmanship to permit this 'general and growing opposition' to Government to become more bitter and to increase in volume until the stage of dead-lock was reached. Hence the wise among the officials came to realize the necessity of devolving powers upon Indians and taking them into partnership. There you have, in a nutshell, the motive power behind Indian constitutional reform—a motive power greatly strengthened by the part India took in the war, and the slogans of 'national rights' and 'self-determination' on which the struggle was carried on.

The evidence given by British non-official witnesses before the Joint Select Committee was remarkable for the fact that several of these witnesses sought to restrict the scope of the Bill. Representatives of British financial, industrial, and commercial interests in India—and their partisans—made a vigorous attempt to prevent any effective power being given to Indians over the development of industry. A witness on behalf of missionary bodies in

India spoke against giving Indians control over educational institutions; and an Indian Christian spoke in the same sense.

The statements made by Indian witnesses fall sharply into two categories—those who spoke for sectional and the others who spoke for national interests. Persons falling in the former category asked for special, and, as a rule, separate representation for various communities—the non-Brahmans of Madras, the Marathas and other backward classes in Bombay, the depressed classes in Bengal, and elsewhere, &c. The others made out a strong case for the improvement of the Bill, in various particulars, and notably in the direction of the extension of powers to be conferred upon popular representatives in provincial legislatures, and also pleaded for beginning the process of making the central Government responsible to the Indian people. They also laid great emphasis upon the grant to India of power to adjust her fiscal arrangements.

Various witnesses speaking in behalf of Indian political associations gave various reasons for contenting themselves with a measure of reform far below home rule. More than one indicated that a sense of political compromise alone had dictated such a course. One expressed the view that a transitional period was needed for the creation of forces for national defence, without which home rule was impossible. Another declared that he accepted 'the principle of gradual transfer of responsibility simply because it gives the services in India (predominantly non-Indian in the higher ranks) an opportunity to readjust themselves gradually to the changing conditions and to the bureaucracy generally to relax its hold and to retire with good grace and dignity.'

In amending the Bill the Joint Select Committee very wisely refrained from 'whittling away' the measure in any particular, and, on the contrary, improved it in many details, though such improvement fell far short of Indian national demands. The first part of the Bill, as

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amended, and as passed by Parliament and assented to by the Crown, provides for the reorganization of administration in the eight major provinces of India. The foundation is laid in mid-air, no doubt because it is intended to permit each province to develop its own system of local self-government. That, perhaps, is a concession to the spirit of the age that cries out for self-determination.

A dual form of government is to be set up in each province, one part consisting of the Executive Councillors, half European and half Indian, and the other of the Ministers—each section to be presided over by the Governor, who may or may not have any actual experience of parliamentary governance. The Executive or official section is to be responsible for the preservation of peace and order, the administration of justice, and other important functions that are to be fixed in the rules to be made hereafter. The legislature is to exercise no measure of control over that section. The Ministers charged with the administration of education, sanitation, and other functions, also to be fixed by rules, are, however, to be responsible to the legislature. The two parts of the Government are to confer together, but in spite of such joint conference, the responsibility of each section is its own. They are to have a 'joint purse,' unless the Governor finds the system unworkable.

The strength of the legislature is to vary in the various provinces. Its Speaker, for four years, is to be nominated, though it may elect the Deputy Speaker. It is not to have power to frame its standing rules, nor can it change the electoral law, to be fixed hereafter by rules, except in the matter of being permitted to decide whether or no to enfranchise women. The whole provincial budget is to be placed before it, though ultimately it has no control over supply for subjects of administration for which the official section is responsible. Nor does control over legislation dealing with those subjects vest in it: for

provision is made to enable the Governor to issue ordinances, independently of his legislature.

The electoral law, as indicated, is to be hybrid. While certain communities have been given separate representation, and provision has been made for the reservation of seats for certain other communities, a considerable proportion of the seats in each legislature have been thrown open to election on a territorial basis. Among communities that have been given separate representation are Europeans, including missionaries, industrialists, and commercialists, both European and Indian ; landlords, Muslims, and Indian Christians in Madras.

The central authority is not to be made responsible in any matter or to any degree to its legislature. Reading the Act in the light of the Joint Committee's report, three of the members of the Government of India are, however, to be Indians, which would mean the trebling of the Indian element, though the expansion of the Governor-General's Cabinet (Executive Council), for which provision has been made, may reduce the proportion that that element may otherwise bear to the new Indian element. The legislature is to be bi-cameral—consisting of an Upper Chamber (Council of State) partly elected and partly nominated, and a Lower House (The Indian Assembly), likewise constituted. The electoral law remains to be worked out, and the elective element in the first legislature may not be elected by a *direct* system. The budget—minus such heavy items as expenditure on defence—is to be submitted to the vote of the legislature, but if the Governor-General decides otherwise, that vote is not to be binding.

The administrative authority exercising superior control from London is to be reconstituted. The India Council is to lose its arbitrary character, is to have smaller powers and a smaller membership. The work of the India Office will be lightened by specific devolution, or delegation of powers to authorities in India, and also by the establish-

ment of a convention generally freeing the authorities in India from interference by the Secretary of State in cases in which the executive is in agreement with its respective legislature. This convention is to give India fiscal autonomy.

A Joint Committee of Parliament is foreshadowed. While possessing no statutory authority, its competence to examine Indian affairs may enable it, if composed of the right sort of men, to give a reality to Parliamentary supervision over Indian affairs—a reality it has never possessed.

The Act no doubt marks an advance: and what is more, it provides for the periodical examination of provincial and central affairs in India, with a view to extending the system of responsible government, to be initiated for the first time. It is not, however, free from blemishes—and even serious defects. First, it leaves a central government that is to remain bureaucratic to exercise concurrent and even over-riding authority in the provinces, where the experiment in responsible government is to begin. Second, the Ministers in the provinces are not to have control analogous to that exercised by heads of departments, members of the principal services being specifically left outside the control of even provincial governments. Third, the plutocratic and conservative elements are likely to predominate, especially in the central legislature.

Anyone who believes in the genius of the Indian people will not be discouraged by the defects and inadequacies of the constitution, which avowedly is of a transitional character. Just as India outgrew the Morley-Minto system within a few years, she will, I am sure, outgrow the Montagu-Chelmsford system soon after the latter system is introduced. If the immediate past is any criterion, India's progress in the immediate future is likely to astonish even well-informed Indians—let alone Britons.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

AN ENGLISH APOSTLE

Life of William Booth, the Founder of the Salvation Army.
 By HAROLD BEGBIE. With Illustrations. 2 Vols.
 (Macmillan & Co. 1920.)

THÉ Founder of the Salvation Army has been happy in his biographer. Mr. Begbie knows much about 'broken earthenware,' and is in warm sympathy with the man whose life was spent in repairing it. To paint this portrait faithfully has been for him a great duty and a severe responsibility. He has presented a lifelike picture of the man and his work, and 'posterity will be able to feel something of the power of William Booth's personality, and to understand how it was his spirit could touch the human heart in so many lands and in almost all the varied circumstances of mortal life.'

William Booth was a genuine fruit of Methodism. He was born in 1829 at Sneinton, then a pleasant suburb of Nottingham, with windmills, wooded hills, and generous views over a gentle valley. His father had been a prosperous nail-maker, builder, and architect, at Colston Bassett, but lost much of his money by speculation and moved into Nottingham with the hope of retrieving his fortunes. He had considerable force of character and 'grew very rich,' his son says, 'because he lived without God, and simply worked for money; and when he lost it all, his heart broke with it, and he died miserably.' His losses led to his son being taken from school at the age of thirteen and apprenticed to a pawnbroker, with the assurance that fortunes were made in that business not only easily but quickly. His father was 'religiously blind'; his mother's moral instruction was summed up in the counsel, 'Be good, William, and all will be well.' The children were sent to the parish church, but gained little knowledge of religion there. The

boy's introduction to Methodism came through a lady and gentleman who were attracted to him because he resembled their dead son. They were Wesleyans, and took him sometimes to their chapel, where some slight impressions were made upon his mind. After his father's death in 1842 he became a frequent attendant at Wesley Chapel, where he joined Henry Carey's class. He was deeply affected by a service conducted by Isaac Marsden, but it was some time before he found the burden of guilt rolled from his heart and started on his path of service. 'No conversion could be simpler, less dramatic, and more natural; few in the long history of Christianity have brought a richer harvest to the whole world.' At this period he formed an intimate friendship with the son of a well-to-do lace manufacturer which had a decisive influence over him. A bad attack of fever brought him to the edge of the grave, but Sansom sent him word that he was starting an open-air mission in the slums, and bade him get well quickly to come and help him. The message was a mighty tonic. The boy of seventeen was soon at work among the poor and degraded. He would neither pray nor preach, but stood in the group and spoke privately to those who came to listen.

James Caughey, the American evangelist, had conducted services at Wesley Chapel and produced a profound impression on young Booth, but it was David Greenbury, an evangelist from Scarborough, who was struck by his earnestness, his vigorous personality, his remarkable appearance and emphatic manner. He told him that it was his duty to speak, and that he owed it to God to conquer his timidity, which was a form of selfishness. Booth was haunted by one of his favourite hymns,

And can I yet delay
My little all to give?

He threw himself with sudden abandon into the work of the street preaching and became the recognized leader of the band. An old woman in Nottingham described the

youth's first sermon to Mr. Begbie. It was preached in a small cottage, and was very gentle and tender. She heard him also in the open air. 'He called out in his great voice that all the suffering and sorrow of the world came from sin, and read out Charles Wesley's hymn : "Misers, for you His life He paid." Once a man shook his fist at the preacher and shouted, " You liar ! You liar." Booth just looked at him and said in a soft, kindly voice, " Friend, it was for you He died ; stop, and be saved." ' He was tall and thin, with piercing eyes, white face, prominent nose, long black hair, and a stoop at the shoulders.

He became an apostle to lads in the slums, and marched a regiment of them one Sunday to Wesley Chapel. He put them in the best pews he could find, and sat among them almost quivering with satisfaction and delight. The stewards rather damped his ardour by telling him that he must come in at a back door and put them in the free seats, but he saw the reasonableness of this decision and bowed to it. A notorious drunkard and wife-beater, 'Besom Jack,' was converted, and became a zealous worker among his old comrades. Booth says, 'The leading men in the Church to which I belonged were afraid I was going too fast, and gave me plenty of caution, quaking and fearing at every new departure, but never a word of encouragement to help me on. But I went forward all the same.' Nor was his religious zeal appreciated in his own home, though by degrees he won his two sisters and his mother for Christ.

Samuel Dunn, then superintendent at Wesley, wanted some one to preach in the villages. The class-leader, who was also chapel-keeper, said that Booth was the very man. He was asked if he thought he could preach, and replied that he had now been preaching in the streets for some time. A little later Mr. Dunn suggested that he should enter the ministry. But he had to provide for his mother and sisters, who kept a smallware shop, and shrank from the responsibility of such an office. He

pleaded ill-health, and was sent to a doctor. Booth remembered his verdict, ‘Unless a man with a nervous system like mine was framed like a brute, and had a chest like a prize-fighter, he would break down.’

His six years’ apprenticeship came to an end when he was nineteen, and for twelve months he looked in vain for some situation that would give him more liberty for evangelistic work. When all else failed, in the autumn of 1849 he turned to London. His eldest sister had married and was living there, but her husband was a truculent agnostic who had no sympathy with his zeal for souls. Nor could he get work save as a pawnbroker’s assistant in Walworth. His master made much profession of religion, but his chief concern was to make money. ‘So it was work, work, work, morning, noon, and night.’

The young fellow travelled long distances to preach on Sunday and his heart turned more and more to the ministry. Mr. Rabbits, the boot manufacturer in the Borough, was greatly impressed by his sermon at Walworth Road Wesleyan Chapel. He urged him to give up business and work among the Reformers, with a view to entering their ministry. He promised to allow him a pound a week for three months. The young fellow had kept apart from the controversy which was then rending Methodism asunder. As Mr. Stead says, ‘His sympathies were then, as always, on the side of authority.’ But this offer seemed too good to be refused. He bade goodbye to his cold-hearted master, took two rooms for five shillings a week, including attendance, in the house of a widow in Walworth, bought some chairs, a bed, and a few other necessaries. April 10, 1851, was his first day of liberty. It was Good Friday and his birthday. On that day also he says, ‘I fell over head and ears in love with the precious woman who afterwards became my wife.’

Catherine Mumford had told Mr. Rabbits how much she admired a sermon which William Booth had preached

at Stockwell. He reported this to the preacher, and arranged for him to meet the Mumfords. One afternoon he gave a large party at which Mr. Booth arrived late. Mr. Rabbits at once pressed him to recite a terrible American poem on drunkenness which he had heard him give with great effect a few days before. The young fellow protested that it was unsuitable for such a company, but Mr. Rabbits would not be denied. The poem started a controversy on temperance, in which Miss Mumford warmly sided with Mr. Booth. They met again, more than once, and the young fellow was increasingly impressed by the girl's force of character and the purity of her faith. On the eventful Good Friday Mr. Rabbits pressed him to attend a service of the Reformers in Cowper Street, City Road. There he met Miss Mumford, and on their way back to Brixton they became aware that they loved each other. No word of love was spoken, but it 'seemed as if God flashed simultaneously into our hearts that affection which afterwards refined into what has proved at least to be an exceptional union of heart and purpose and life, and which none of the changing vicissitudes with which our lives have been so crowded has been able to efface.'

Mrs. Mumford invited him to stay the night, and became nearly as much interested in the visitor as her daughter. Catherine Mumford as a child was 'singularly intellectual and forceful, responding with heart and soul to the rigorous and puritanical training of her mother, disliking novels, revelling in history, expressing vigorous judgements on such famous characters as Napoleon Bonaparte, whose brutal and selfish victories she would compare with the more humane conquests of Julius Caesar—and revealing on every side of her character an unmistakable predilection for serious things.' She was passionately devoted to animals, and could not bear to see or hear of their suffering. Mr. Begbie says, 'When William Booth crossed her path she was an able, masterful, and brilliant young woman,

who delighted in table controversies, who was somewhat proud of her logical adroitness, and who must have been, one thinks, as great a terror to the loose thinkers and careless talkers of her little circle as William Gladstone in a more exalted sphere. It is tolerably certain that she was improved, and very deeply improved, by her intimacy with William Booth. There was something in her mind, at this period, too like the self-assertiveness of an intellect rejoicing in its own trenchant dexterity to promise sweetness and light. She was able, brilliant, daring, and righteous to a fault; but one doubts if her heart at that time had asserted its equal partnership with her brain.'

She was a few months older than William Booth. He lacked her culture, but she greatly admired his rugged, rock-hewn strength. She lacked 'that boundless depth of self-sacrificing love, that wide and overflowing ocean of yearning, pitying, human affection which was the gift he brought to her, and the human influence which made her in after years "The Mother of the Salvation Army."

From Walworth Mr. Booth went to Spalding as a minister of the Methodist Reformers. Mr. Begbie gives many charming love letters which passed between the young people. 'I want,' she writes, 'to find in you my *earthly all*; I *expect* to do so; I feel too deeply to be able to write on this subject; whenever I try my tears blind me.' She urges him to 'watch against *mere animal excitement* in his revival services,' and trusts 'As far as I have ability and *grace*, I shall be ready to strengthen your hands in the glorious work, by taking under my care to enlighten and guard and feed the lambs brought in under your ministry. I believe in instantaneous conversion as firmly as you; at the same time I believe that half of what is called conversion is nothing of the kind, and there is no calculating the evil results of deception in a matter so momentous.' He speaks in one of his letters about home, and she replies: '*I am delighted; it makes me happy to hear you speak as*

you do about *home*. Yes, if you will *seek home, love home*, be happy at home, I will spend my energies in trying to make it a more than ordinary one ; it *shall*, if my ability can do it, be a spot sunny and bright, pure and calm, refined and tender, a fit school in which to train immortal spirits for a holy and glorious heaven ; a fit resting-place for a spirit pressed and anxious about public duties.'

Her letters are rich in wisdom as well as tenderness. Mr. Booth's do not soar so high. They are full of details of his work, which was bearing much fruit, and tell of his manifold heart-searchings. He fears his best efforts and desires are not so pure as they ought to be. 'But I am always running before to find doubts and fears ; mine has always been a restless and dissatisfied life, and I am fearful that it will continue so until I get safe into heaven.' Many passages reveal the ardent lover. 'I love you, my dearest ; my heart is and has been of late very full of tender affection for you. Oh, for perfect unitedness ; I think if we are allowed by Heaven to be united outwardly, we shall be united inwardly. Oh, I am sure I shall count it my highest enjoyment to see you happy.' 'Oh, how I wished yesterday evening,' runs another letter, 'that I had wings to fly to you to hide my head in your bosom and listen to your sweet comforting voice. I am sure I scarce have ever yearned for your presence more than last night. But I am always wanting by night and by day. And the time, I suppose, will come, *all well*, when I shall have my desire and have you *always with me*.'

From Lincolnshire he came to London in 1854 as a student for the New Connexion ministry, into which he was duly received, with permission to marry at the end of a year. He conducted mission services in various places, and was appointed a roving evangelist. The eagerly awaited marriage came on June 16, 1855, and after a week at Ryde he went with his bride to conduct services in Guernsey. His methods were sometimes sensational, and

he afterwards confessed that at this time he was guilty of ignorance and inexperience, but he was always learning. His mind developed and his character ripened to the very last. Their first child, William Bramwell, the present General, was born in March, 1856. The father was delicate, the mother almost a complete invalid, but their children were strong and healthy. ‘Mrs. Booth was a severe mother, William Booth was by no means a sentimental father, and yet in the midst of their distracted and laborious life they were able to watch over their children so successfully that they not only trained them spiritually, morally, and intellectually, but won their admiration and affection.’ Mr. Booth was a martyr to dyspepsia, which often made him ‘irascible, explosive, and sometimes even censorious. Ill-health always found the weak spot in his character, the weak spot which in some ways was destined to be the strength of his life—that stubbornness, that sense of dogmatic rightness, that feeling of obstinate dictatorship, which gave offence to many, but which was the rock of safety for so many more.’

As time passed he became less and less comfortable in the New Connexion. His methods gave offence to some, and the Conference of 1857 decided that he must cease his evangelistic work and take a circuit. In 1861 he resigned his position and faced the world, penniless and with a wife and four children. For a time they stayed with Mr. and Mrs. Mumford in Brixton; then they began mission services at Hayle. The work spread. ‘Villagers tramped over the hills, and fishermen rowed eight and ten miles across a dark sea, to the towns where William Booth was preaching. Throughout that corner of the duchy, from Camborne to Penzance, the flame raged with increasing force.’ In St. Just it was reported that a thousand members were gathered into the various churches. After eighteen months in Cornwall the Booths went to Cardiff, where John Cory and his brother Richard gave them generous and unflinching support.

Those were testing years, but in 1865 Mrs. Booth conducted a mission in Rotherhithe which convinced her that London must be their future headquarters. They took a house in Hammersmith, and then in Hackney, where Mr. Booth was nearer to the open-air work which he had begun in the Mile End Road. He came home late one night from a meeting and said to his wife, ‘ Oh ! Kate, as I passed by the doors of the flaming gin-palaces to-night, I seemed to hear a voice sounding in my ears, “ Where can you go and find such heathen as these, and where is there so great a need for your labours ? ” And I felt as though I ought at every cost to stop and preach to those East End multitudes.’ To Mrs. Booth this meant another new departure, but after a moment’s pause for thought and prayer she replied, ‘ Well, if you feel you ought to stay, stay. We have trusted the Lord *once* for our support, and we can trust Him *again*. ’ ‘ There was not in our minds,’ she adds, ‘ at the time we came to this decision, the remotest idea of the marvellous work which has since sprung into existence.’ Samuel Morley heard of his work about this time, and invited Mr. Booth to call on him. He was much impressed by the account he gave of his services, and gave him a generous contribution towards his support. His tent in Whitechapel was wrecked, and this drove the Mission to take shelter in an old dancing-saloon which held about 600. On Sundays he gave three or four addresses in the open air, led two or three processions through the streets, and conducted three meetings in the dancing-saloon. He says, ‘ The power and happiness of the work carried me along, and in that room the foundation was really laid of all that has since come to pass.’

The Christian Mission took firm root in these years. Mrs. Booth addressed large audiences all over the country, and set up a ‘ station ’ wherever it was feasible. Evangelists were sent to these places, and *The Christian Mission Messenger* kept all in touch with each other. One morning

Bramwell Booth and George Railton were summoned early to Mr. Booth's bedroom to make arrangements for the day's work. Mr. Railton sat down to write an article which Mr. Booth dictated. It was the time of the Volunteer movement and the phrase occurred, 'We are a Volunteer Army.' As Railton read this out Bramwell exclaimed, 'Volunteer! Here, I'm not a volunteer. I'm a regular or nothing!' The father stopped walking, looked at his son and leaning over Railton's shoulder, took the pen from his hand, scratched out Volunteer and substituted 'Salvation.' Mr. Bramwell Booth says 'The effect of that word upon Railton and me was really quite extraordinary. We both sprang from our chairs. I remember that I exclaimed, "Thank God for that." And Railton was equally enthusiastic.' That marked the beginning of a wider policy. 'The old question of limiting or narrowing the message in any way was now settled for ever. The change of name meant an actual warfare upon sin and apathy, it meant a forward movement, it was a definite call to arms.' The uniform followed, though neither Mr. Booth nor Bramwell made any change in their dress for some time. The *Messenger* for September, 1878, had announced that 'the Christian Mission has met in Congress to make war,' and hailed Mr. Booth as 'The General.' Two years earlier he had written to a supporter in Cardiff, 'We are thinking of getting a "Flag" and have thought of crimson ground and blue border. *What do you think?* The crimson signifying the atonement and the blue purity.'

The Army in its earlier years passed through a fierce fire of ridicule and persecution. Mr. Begbie says the leader of the Army 'was not by any means an entirely confident and always rejoicing General. Much of the confidence of those early days seems to have sprung from Bramwell Booth and Railton—Younger men who had caught the passion of his idea with the souls of youth and the almost laughing gallantry of adventure. When the General was

disturbed by criticism, they rubbed their hands and rejoiced at "a good advertisement." When the General appeared to lead and thunder challenges, one finds these men at his back, urging him forward, sometimes putting the very words into his mouth.' It was largely due to these two advisers that the General deliberately rejected the Sacraments. Railton was the son of one Wesleyan minister and the brother of another; he was the nephew of the Methodist Apostle of Sweden, yet to him 'in particular, there was only one baptism—the baptism of the Holy Ghost; only one communion with Christ—the communion of a cleansed heart directed to His service. His influence was flung on the side of rejection; and William Booth, who leaned in matters of organization far more upon his young men than upon his wife, finally decided to give up the Sacraments.' That seems to us, despite the practical difficulties which would have had to be faced, to have been the most grievous mistake ever made by the General. Negotiations were entered into which might have led to some alliance between the Army and the Church of England, but these fell through largely because the General felt that he must be master of the organization which he had created.

One of Mr. Begbie's chapters is given to the Purity Crusade. Bramwell Booth had seen such horrors whilst making inquiries into the White Slave Traffic that he says, 'I was like one living in a dream of hell.' His wife was appointed to take charge of the Salvation Army's first Rescue Home. Bramwell Booth turned to Mr. Stead for help in his crusade. Stead listened incredulously to the evidence laid before him, but when convinced of its truth he vowed himself 'to destroy this most damnable work of the devil.' All the world knows the result. It was an anxious time for General Booth, who had shrunk from the purity crusade and found his son and Mr. Stead involved in a criminal prosecution. Bramwell was acquitted, but Mr. Stead was sent to prison. Thence he wrote to cheer

Bramwell : ‘ You are down in the dumps. Don’t be down in the dumps. I tell you my imprisonment is a great blessing and will be a greater. It would be a thousand pities to get me out. Don’t be savage or indignant or contemptuous or anything, but joyful and grateful and willing to do God’s will.’

One of Mr. Begbie’s brightest chapters describes the Booths’ home life as witnessed by a lady who lodged with them. She held that those who said Mrs. Booth was the greater of the two did not know what they were talking about. ‘ Mrs. Booth was a very able woman, a very persuasive speaker, and a wonderful manager ; but the General was a *force*—he dominated everything.’ His love for his wife was exquisite. He hated dirt and untidiness, and loved to get away from the slums into the pure air of the country, where he threw off his cares and laughed and joked like a schoolboy. On October 4, 1890, Mrs. Booth died of cancer in its most terrible form after more than two years of wearing agony. The whole world paid heartfelt tribute to that gracious and gifted Mother of the Salvation Army.

The appearance of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* in 1890 marked an epoch in the history of the Salvation Army. It stood committed to a vast scheme of social service which enlisted the sympathy of many philanthropists and excited universal interest. Mr. Stead had helped the General to put his case in the most impressive and arresting form. He set his face against indiscriminate charity and sought to make it ‘ masculine, practical, and scientific. He saw that in spite of free lodgings, free meals, gifts of clothing, and gifts of money, there was no *moral and religious progress*. His scheme was not to relieve, but to rescue, revive, and rebuild.’ The social work of the Army made him a figure in the life of the world and won him strong sympathy and affection wherever he went. He says, however, in one of his letters, ‘ As to whether we get as much real benefit out of the time and labour and ability

bestowed upon feeding the poor as we should do if spent in purely spiritual work is a very difficult question to answer. We have a number of people, and shall have an increasing number of them, who can do this work and cannot do the other. Let us employ them and make the world pay for it. What I object to is using the time and ability of men and women for Social Work who are required for the Spiritual, and using money after the same fashion.'

His last days were crowded with honours. He received the Freedom of the City of London, was made a Doctor of Civil Laws at Oxford, and had a most gracious reception from Edward VII, whom he greatly amused by his answer to the King's question, 'Tell me, General, how do you get on now with the Churches? What is their attitude towards you?' 'The old man looked shrewdly at the King, his eyes twinkled, and he made answer, "Sir, they imitate me,"' at which the king laughed with a good understanding.'

The story of his growing blindness forms a touching sequel to his life of intense activity. It was a welcome hour for him and those who loved him when, on August 20, 1912, he passed from the shadows that had gathered around him into the sunshine of a better life. One of the last flashes of his old humour came near the end when he turned with a smile to his greatly beloved and trusted son and burst out, 'I'm leaving you a bonnie handful!' He knew what a world of problems he bequeathed to his successor, but he trusted him perfectly and had an unwavering faith in the gracious Providence which had guided and blessed him in his life-work. Mr. Begbie says, 'He will confront for ever the gaze of mankind, a rough, fallible, and tempestuous figure, a man of little learning, a man of vigorous impulsiveness, a man masterful and vehement, a man inordinately zealous and inordinately ambitious, but a man inspired, and in everything one who with the whole force and passion of his extraordinary nature loved his fellow men.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE SAMARITANS AND THE PENTATEUCH

INTEREST in the Samaritans is evidently far from being dead, and the volume by Dr. J. E. H. Thomson¹ is well calculated to stimulate it. J. W. Nutt's *Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature* in 1874 was succeeded by a long silence on the part of English writers until broken by the appearance of the new Bible Dictionaries at the close of the century. These contained articles on 'Samaria' (by C. W. Wilson), and the 'Samaritan Pentateuch' (by Ed. König) in *H.D.B.*; on 'Samaria and the Samaritans' (by A. E. Cowley) in *Encyc. Bib.*; and on 'Samaria,' 'Samaritans' (by W. M. Christie) in *D.C.G.* By far the fullest treatment of all appeared in 1907 entitled *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect*, containing the Bohlen Lectures (American) by J. A. Montgomery. Shortly afterwards A. T. Chapman in his 'Introduction to the Pentateuch' (Cambridge Bible Series) dealt with the same subject in one of the Appendices. And now comes this large volume by Dr. Thomson, based on his 'Alexander Robertson' Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1916.

Since New Testament times the history of the Samaritan community has been one of deepening tragedy. For centuries they endured terrible persecution, for which they were themselves partly to blame, and were generally believed to be extinct. But they came back to the world when in 1616 a traveller (Pietro della Valle) found their synagogues in Cairo, Gaza, Damascus, and Nablus (the ancient Shechem). Yet decay continued, and to-day 'the one solitary synagogue left to the Samaritans is to be found in the small quarter of the city (Nablus) in which they dwell, a poor despised remnant.' It was feared that this historic handful would fare ill during the late war, but Rev. W. M. Christie reports (March 21, 1919) that the little community, numbering only 152, is safe and in possession of all their sacred rolls.

Dr. Thomson has had unusual opportunities of studying this little remnant at close quarters. A somewhat lengthened residence in Palestine, repeated visits to Nablus, and presence at the celebration of the Samaritan Passover, vitalized to the writer ideas derived by him from other sources (p. viii). The volume opens with a well-informed description of the 'Home and the People,' and then proceeds to give us in three chapters the author's views on the part played by the Samaritans in the religious life of the nation. This is followed

¹ *The Samaritans, their Testimony to the Religion of Israel*, by Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D. pp. 438, Oliver & Boyd.

by chapters on Ritual, Theology, Script, Language and Literature, special reference being made to the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch. The treatment is marked throughout by a fullness of knowledge which leaves nothing to be desired.

But the writer is not content with the rôle of investigator and historian. Indeed, he makes no secret of the fact that his main purpose is polemical. 'As will doubtless have been guessed by the reader, all that has preceded has been intended to lead up to certain conclusions which have a bearing on the criticism of the Pentateuch' (p. 352). And the dedication of the book to Dr. James Robertson, Emeritus Professor of Glasgow, indicates in advance Dr. Thomson's views. We give his final conclusion in his own words: 'For these reasons we venture to maintain that it is impossible to believe that the Pentateuch was only completed with the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem' (p. 386). 'The endeavour has been to show that the Samaritans did not get the Pentateuch from Ezra, but had it before' (p. 384). If this position can be maintained it is of course fatal to the modern theory of the development of Jewish law and literature, and it may be well to state briefly the line of the writer's argument.

1. It is a mistake to suppose that the Assyrian deportations removed the whole population of the North. As a matter of fact the great majority of the common people were left behind and, though foreign colonists were imported, the Israelite religion was not materially interfered with.

2. The Samaritans have, throughout their history, shown themselves extremely tenacious of their religion, despite all opposition and persecution.

3. Their acquaintance with the Mosaic ritual and the Histories of the Pentateuch dates back to a period long before the Assyrian invasion.

4. The priests sent back by Esarhaddon assisted in maintaining their ritual observances intact.

5. The lack of Prophetic literature in the Samaritan Canon is to be accounted for by the removal of the prophets by the Assyrians, who feared their political propensities. The omission of Joshua from the Samaritan Canon makes the modern theory *re* the Hexateuch impossible.

6. The critical theory *re* Deuteronomy is disproved by the narrative of its discovery; its contents, especially the omission of any mention of Mount Zion; and by the fact that some of its alleged innovations were already in existence.

7. Where the Samaritan Ritual differs from the Jewish the former is simpler and therefore more ancient.

8. The Samaritan Script is older than the Jewish and has remained fixed, while that of the Jews has changed and is consequently less reliable.

9. Where the two recensions of the Pentateuch differ in contents the advantage rests with the Samaritan because of its more ancient character.

10. It is impossible to believe that Ezra could effect such a reformation in practice as the critical theory supposes ; even more inconceivable is it that Manasseh would be disposed to urge acceptance in Samaria of a law which had led to his expulsion from Jerusalem or that the Samaritans would be willing to receive it.

Such is the course of Dr. Thomson's argument, and we should like to bear witness to the excellent spirit in which he conducts the whole discussion. The absence of heat and reviling certainly makes for sobriety of judgement. On one point we should like to express entire agreement, viz. as to the effect of the Assyrian invasion on the Northern population. Most writers have shown a disposition to accept such passages as 2 Kings xvii. 18, *au pied de la lettre*, with the inevitable result that the Samaritans are commonly regarded as simply a blend of foreigners. Of late, however, some writers have shown good reason for questioning this view, and now Thomson joins Montgomery on the same side. Foreigners there were and in large numbers, but the population as a whole remained Israelite. Our main difficulty is that our documents are from Jewish hands, but even so the facts are sufficiently clear, e.g. the number of those deported was, according to the Inscriptions, small compared with the total population ; the people of the North desired to assist in the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem ; their retention of the Pentateuch as their only Law-book and their devotion to its precepts through all time has led even Jews to refer to them as examples to their own people. The real Israelite character of the Northerners is we believe the basal fact of all fruitful study of the Samaritans, and our author states the argument with great effectiveness.

On the main thesis of the book we are however unconvinced. Of course Dr. Thomson finds weaknesses in the modern theory, but his own theory, and the arguments by which he supports it, are open to more serious criticism still. Reference may be made to one or two of his points.

Take the allusion to the two Pentateuchs and the alleged superiority of the Samaritan. Over against this opinion may be set that of Ed. König. After stating four suggestions which attempt to account for the peculiarities of the Sam. Pentateuch he concludes : 'When all these considerations are taken into account, the first . . . remains the most probable, viz. that the greater part of the differences which show themselves between the M.T. (i.e. the Heb. Pent.) and the Samaritan Pentateuch grew up through the influence of later currents of thought, just as is the case with the majority of the differences between the M.T. and the LXX.' (*H.D.B.* Ext. p. 71b). To this may be joined A. T. Chapman's conclusions : 'The characters in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is written are a *late* modification of the old Hebrew writing. . . Hence the Samaritan MSS. may be derived from copies which were made much later than Nehemiah's time. Many of the variations between the Samaritan and Hebrew texts establish conclusively the priority of the Massoretic recension. The Samaritan text is intelligible as a correction of the Hebrew ;

very few, if any, instances of the reverse process can be found.' (Introd. Pent., p. 293 f.).

One further remark. Our author quite justifiably calls attention to the difficulty there would be in imposing entirely new codes of law on either Jews or Samaritans, and adds that many of the so-called new demands were already practised by the people. But does not this last remark itself answer his contention? The central-sanctuary reform had already, he points out, been attempted by Hezekiah, but Hezekiah failed and suffered for his well-meant effort. In 621 Josiah made a similar attempt and with better success; for what could not be attained by the fiat of a monarch was effected by the discovery of the Book of the Law which was apparently unknown before. Then, too, the supposed reluctance of the Samaritans to receive the P.C. would be materially relieved by the fact that Manasseh was accompanied and followed by numbers of fellow Jews. And as to the difficulty respecting the marriage law, if, as is generally believed, the Book of Ruth belongs to this period it becomes a further witness to the presence of a less strict interpretation than that for which Ezra stood, and with this, presumably, the Samaritans would agree.

We cannot but regret that our author has taken so little account of the difficulties attaching to his own attitude, which, indeed, gave birth to the modern hypothesis. So far as we can recall he mentions only one of these and disposes of it in less than a couple of pages (p. 382 f.).

J. W. LIGHTLEY.

MR. MACDONALD'S REMINISCENCES

THOSE who have been privileged to listen to Mr. Macdonald's private talk, so stimulating, so wide in its range, and based upon such a variety of experience, will rejoice that he has found the leisure to put his memories into a more permanent form. (*As a Tale that is Told*. Cassell.) Few men have had so many interesting things to tell, and few can tell them better. A minister whose acquaintance touches on the one hand almost the highest in the country, and on the other those humbler ones who yet form the backbone of the nation, secures our attention like Odysseus at the court of Alcinous. Mr. Macdonald was present at the funeral of Manzoni in 1873, and at the Republican Convention which in 1880 chose Garfield as candidate for the Presidency. There is scarcely a country in the world which he has not visited, and scarcely a village in England which he does not know; nor has he been through his travels with shut eyes or ears. But one cannot read two pages of his book without perceiving that if he has had the good fortune, like Odysseus, to 'see the cities and know the minds of many men,' he has also the gift of a clear and pleasant style in which to narrate what he has seen. Allied to this is the well-stored mind which has enabled him to bring something to the places he has visited, as well as to carry much away from them. He is one who can, as he tells

us, read Gibbon at Lausanne, and Rousseau by the Lake of Geneva, Byron at Venice and Horace in Rome, Molière in Paris, and Don Quixote in Spain. If it be true, as the poet says, that we receive but what we give, few men have had a better chance of benefiting from travel and intercourse with his fellows than Mr. Macdonald.

To the Methodist, of course, the main interest of the book will lie in the innumerable references to the great ones of the past, and to that old Wesleyan atmosphere which it is so difficult for the younger generation to envisage for itself. Here are portraits, kindly but discriminating, of such men as Dr. Punshon, greatest of pulpit orators and public lecturers, Dr. Rigg, statesman and organizer, Dr. Pope, scholar, saint, and theologian, Thomas Akroyd, truest of gentlemen. The picture drawn of Mr. Macdonald's own father, and of the minister's home, as it was in the fifties and sixties, is charming in its sympathy and delicacy. One need not be a *laudator temporis acti* to wonder whether such men and such homes exist to-day. At any rate, as one reads these pages, one does not wonder that the Methodism of sixty years ago was so aggressive and so triumphant.

All who know Mr. Macdonald know that his peculiar gifts have enabled him to serve his Church in an almost unique fashion, not to be appraised by any enumeration of posts held. He has, it is safe to say, presented to the outside world an aspect of Methodism of which that world might otherwise have been largely ignorant; and this book shows clearly how this was done. It abounds with anecdote, allusion, and literary point, all revealing to those who have eyes to see just that degree of 'culture'—to use a word which has of late been degraded—marking a true gentleman. Mr. Macdonald again and again tells us, with far too much modesty, that he does not profess to be a technical 'scholar.' The ancient Romans used to say of their heroes that they had 'as much athletic skill as was fitting in the nobly-born.' Similarly, we may say that Mr. Macdonald has quite as much scholarship as is fitting in any one who does not desire to be mistaken for a University don; and the touch of this gentlemanly scholarship is manifest throughout the book.

But he has also, of course, served his Church more directly and officially, and has received from her the highest honours it has been in her power to give. He has been circuit minister, college professor, missionary secretary, and President. As his memory retraces the years spent in these posts, he permits himself, in a fashion, to think aloud, and gives us the fruit of wise reflection, in which we, for our part, find not the least valuable paragraphs of the book. Sometimes it is a generalization; sometimes he deduces a lesson from the history in which he has borne a part; sometimes, if we guess right, he is gently hinting a warning for the future in the guise of a reminiscence of the past. For Mr. Macdonald loves Methodism enough, and is known to love her enough, to be able to reveal a certain parental uneasiness as to the trend of present-day forces working within her.

Nothing, in fact, is more obvious or more delightful in this volume than its author's unfeigned and unaffected attachment to his calling and to his Church. He is proud of her, and (not unjustifiably) of his position in her; and he has found his happiness, a happiness which he takes no pains to conceal, in serving her to the best of his remarkable ability. He is a Wesleyan minister, and he is not ashamed of the fact; he has learnt and applied to the full the Roman poet's prescription for a cheerful life—*Quod sis, esse velis, nihilque malis.* As, in the serene twilight of his day, he looks back on the past fifty years, he may perhaps regret a detail here and there, but we are sure that of the main course and purpose of his life he says that it was well.

But the book is not merely a collection of Methodist reminiscences and meditations. Many, perhaps most, of his readers will turn first to the pages in which Mr. Macdonald speaks of those distinguished men whom he knew in their bright youth, and whom subsequently the world has delighted to honour. He has had access to the charmed circle in which moved Swinburne, Rossetti, Morris, and Burne-Jones; and he knew well those others, hardly inferior to them in ability, though not equalled to them in renown—Heeley, Cornell Price, Fulford, Edwin Hatch, Richard Watson Dixon. He has felt the irresistible and royal magic of Rossetti; he has watched Morris 'pass with little warning from grave silence into a hurricane of real or humorous rage and tempestuous denunciation'; he has been present while Swinburne literally 'hopped about the room with excitement as he poured forth ancient or modern verse from a memory that seemed to hold all that ever was written.' Better still, he has been bound by the closest of family ties to Burne-Jones, most lovable and high-toned of souls. Much has been written about these men already: the *Life of Burne-Jones*, in particular, has taken its place by the side of Boswell and Lockhart; but Mr. Macdonald has something new and distinctive to say. Those who have known Dixon only through his *Mano* (a true poem) and his *Church History*, like those who know Hatch only through his *Bampton Lecture*, will read with pleasure the pages in which Mr. Macdonald briefly characterizes them as human beings of flesh and blood. All, alas, are gone. 'Many good gifts were bestowed on one and another of them; to none was given length of days. To me who knew them in their golden youth its halo still surrounds them; for though they became painters, poets, and scholars of distinction, they were never more attractive, lovable, and altogether wonderful than they were then.' In fact, the only criticism we should be inclined to pass upon these earlier reminiscences is that they are too short.

Short, indeed, they had to be, for the book has an almost Chaucerian plenty in its three hundred pages. We should have dearly liked to hear more of Rudyard Kipling, of Bishop Simpson, or of Dr. Robert Dale. But most of all do we regret that Mr. Macdonald, mindful of μηδὲν ἄγαν, has told us but little of James

Smetham—a ‘man of genius,’ as he truly calls him, who ‘looked on human life with brotherly and loving eyes, enjoying the fun there is in it, sharing its happiness, responding to its appeal for sympathy, and loving it through and through, laughing at its simpletons and treating its fools from time to time with a kindly scourging ; passing quite naturally from describing the humours of a street corner to speak of the deep things of God.’

There is much of Smetham in Mr. Macdonald himself.

E. E. KELLETT.

DEMOCRATIC MORALITY

WHAT is morality ? Socrates called it the art of self-possession and of self-government. It also means the government of the people by the people. Democratic government and government based on morality would appear to be one and the same thing.

Speaking generally, there are some who regard as fundamental the distinction between the two categories, workers and parasites, and affirm that only one of these two classes is qualified to possess citizenship. They therefore claim that the proletariat alone, i.e. men who live from hand to mouth on their daily earnings, deserve the name and privileges of citizens of the universal Republic.

When we try to discover the principle usually followed by politicians when they define democracy, we find it in the idea of right. And when we examine the reasons why people are more ready to speak of right than of duty, or to define duty by right rather than right by duty, we find them summed up in the desire to reject any notion suspected of metaphysical or religious tendencies and to retain those considered to be strictly positive and scientific.

Men have different ways of conceiving what they call their right. When a man attributes to himself a right, he imagines that nothing can overthrow the claim he is advancing. It is my right, says one, to have my share of happiness ; consequently, society must be so organized as to enable this man to call himself happy. Such and such liberties, declare a group of men, constitute our right : it follows therefore that your laws are bad in so far as they do not secure our possession of these liberties.

Why do men attribute to themselves some particular right ? As a rule, that which they consider necessary for existence they regard as their right. Putting aside, however, the idea of need, or desire, or arbitrary will, there is one thing to which appeal is continually being made : equality. Right, it is claimed, is equal in all men. But this assertion cannot be upheld ; the inequality of things in nature, resulting in movement and change, is what essentially characterizes this world of ours. Equality can be conceived of only between the particles of a world that has attained to homogeneity, i.e. to dispersion, immobility, and absolute death.

Nature, too, offers us relations of solidarity which we cannot evade, except to our own hurt. The solidarity between mother and

child cannot be too jealously guarded. But the solidarity of the healthy with the diseased, the good with the wicked, the reasonable with the foolish, is an evil we rightly combat. A living being is partly one with and partly independent of his environment. Civilization is the abolition of innumerable natural solidarities. The solidarity we invoke when determining the notion of right is really a moral concept. Morality requires that men unite and act as members of one body if their efforts are to result in creations more worthy of humanity than those of nature left to herself.

Again, without denying that right implies development and progress, do we not recognize that it possesses a rational character which makes it deserving of respect, directly and *per se*? Reason does not feel itself bound by even the most rigorous deductions of sociology. Before it can incorporate the results therefrom in its notion of right, it needs itself to appreciate the value of these results, judging them by its own norm.

The Greeks regarded morality as including political no less than industrial life. When Aristotle distinguishes *politics* from *ethics*, he does not set the former outside morality. *Politics*, he says, is a fuller and more perfect morality; it includes individual morality just as act includes potency.

National dignity is manifestly the principle of political morality. But what is a nation?

The first type of human society is the family. Members of the same family are generally very similar to one another: they have the same blood, language, customs, education, and stock of ideas. At the other end of the scale of society we find the community established by nature—or created by imagination—between all men. Here the differences are extreme; the sense of being a single body no longer exists. Now, we may conceive of a society midway between the family and a world-wide human community; this would constitute the harmonious blend of the one and the many, of feeling and reason, forming the most perfect synthesis possible of nature and art, of what is called in English, growth and manufacture. Would not an organization held together by external solidarity and natural affinity, by utility and instinct, be the very masterpiece of the universe?

From the moral standpoint we can uphold neither the theory of absolute government obtruding itself on individuals, nor that of sovereignty inherent in individuals. Uncontrolled government is opposed to the very idea of national dignity. And even if this sovereignty is transferred from ruler to citizens as individuals, an individualism which sets no limit to the individual's right of self-government is nothing less than absolutism. In a sense, every citizen governs, for he shares in the making and enforcing of laws. Initiative and obedience are necessary qualities; and whether we consider State or individuals, to govern oneself truly is not to do so in accordance with one's own ideas or desires but rather in obedience to the dictates of justice.

And if we widen our conception of democracy and endeavour to apply it to Leagues of Nations, we reach similar conclusions. Nations joining such a League can be regarded neither as self-sufficing individuals with a right to absolute independence, nor as simple instruments of a central sovereign power. Here, however, the whole, the one, the community has far less right than in a long established nation, whose political constitution is strengthened by common traditions and aspirations, by instinctive sympathy and a profound moral unity. We are able to conceive of an international democracy only as a relative *rapprochement* between certain nations on the ground of justice and common interests.

To sum up, the notion of democracy, *per se*, is formal and abstract ; it means, the people governing itself. This expression has a serious meaning only when understood in its moral acceptation. Taken literally, it does not indicate whether the people on whom is conferred the free disposal of itself must regard justice or its own fancy as law. Democracy presupposes the democratic spirit. Form is nothing apart from substance ; external freedom, absence of constraint, is useful and permissible only in so far as he who enjoys it is amenable to the moral freedom of the soul and eager to possess it.

Such ideas find expression both in classic lore and in Christian doctrine ; they have existed ever since man appeared on this earth as a thinking being.

We read in Isocrates : 'The condition of good government is not that the porticoes be covered with decrees ; it is that justice dwell in the soul of man.'

Again, amongst the noble mottoes adopted by the various States of the great democracy in North America, we find the State of South Dakota taking the motto, so essentially Christian in its inspiration : Under God the people rule.

EMILE BOUTROUX.

(Authorized translation by FRED ROTHWELL.)

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Spirit : God and His Relation to Man Considered from the Standpoint of Philosophy, Psychology, and Art. Edited by B. H. Streeter. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

THE Spirit of God is 'God in action,' said Dr. A. B. Davidson, 'that is, His nature conceived not as substance or cause, but as moral personal life, in relation to the world and men.' Such is the vast subject discussed in this volume, not from the point of view of supernatural revelation, as it would be in biblical theology, but from the human side, with emphasis laid—as is customary nowadays—upon psychology. The method of treatment adopted is that of the symposium, and the contributors include the editor, Canon Streeter, Miss Lily Dougall, Rev. C. W. Emmet, Captain Hadfield, and Mr. Clutton Brock. Prof. Pringle-Pattison and Dr. Anderson Scott join for the first time a body of collaborateurs who have worked together before. The majority of the writers had discussed the subject-matter orally together in a series of conference-retreats—a method which has proved successful with three well-known volumes, entitled *Foundations*, *Immortality*, and *Concerning Prayer*. Of the four uniform volumes, that on 'The Spirit' is certainly not the least interesting or important. The chief criticism passed upon it is likely to be that it leaves so much unsaid in its elucidation of a great theme, and that the lacunae in its plan are considerable and serious. Such a criticism seems hardly fair, and we are disposed to be thankful for what is provided, rather than to complain because some important topics have been passed by.

The Essays, as they stand, are important and valuable. They should be studied by all who are concerned to promote a religion of a broad and enduring type, especially in these days of unsettlement of thought. Prof. Pringle-Pattison's opening essay, showing how divine immanence and transcendence imply one another, is invaluable, especially as coming from such a philosopher. It is distinctly the best in the book. Miss Lily Dougall's articles confirm her claim to the position she has for some time occupied amongst writers on present-day theology. Her discussion of the relation between nature and the supernatural is careful and illuminative ; her mode of regarding the Sacraments will not please every one. Captain Hadfield, whose paper in *Immortality* on 'The Mind and the Brain' aroused considerable attention, contributes a still more striking article on the 'Psychology of Power.' The testimony here given by a scientific student of psycho-therapy is noteworthy. Dr. Anderson Scott's thoughtful essay on 'What happened at Pentecost'

helps to relate other parts of this volume to history and Bible-teaching. Mr. Emmet's two papers on 'The Psychology of Grace' and on 'Inspiration, how God teaches,' seek to show the relation between nature and the supernatural in the two departments of conduct and teaching. Here again lines of thought are adopted which do not obliterate the recognized lines between nature and the supernatural, but which will be of service to many who have insufficiently considered the relation of the two. Mr. Clutton Brock's two articles are, like all his work, spiritually quickening and suggestive. The tenth and last essay, by Canon Streeter, on 'Christ as a Constructive Revolutionary,' shows how in days when 'every one is crying out for reconstruction, some in hope, others in despair,' the true creative spirit is that manifested in the life of Christ.

While we cannot agree with some of the positions taken up in this volume, and while we greatly regret that some aspects of the work of the divine Spirit in the world are so slightly touched, we regard it as an important contribution to the study of a very wide subject, and would commend it not least to those whose outlook on the work of God in the world is very different from that of the writers. Both the love and the wisdom of God are 'broader than the measures of man's mind,' and the book as a whole will, we are sure, widen the ideas of some of its religious readers and help to establish the faith of others. A religion both broad and stable is greatly needed to-day.

Divine Overruling. By W. Sanday, D.D., F.B.A. (T. & T. Clark. 6s.)

These three lectures mark the close of Dr. Sanday's work as Lady Margaret Professor. They are followed by a sermon preached before the University on 'The Meaning of the Atonement.' The first lecture deals with the place of comparative religion in theological study. The whole development has fallen well within the last fifty years, and Dr. Sanday's survey of its progress is of great interest. He urges that the time has come when the study should not merely be tolerated but encouraged. In the second lecture, on 'Natural and Revealed Religion,' examples are taken from the religion of Egypt and of Babylonia to show the real contents of these pagan faiths. 'It is quite certain that they are part of the witness which in every age God has left us of Himself.' The third lecture is 'On the Nature of Miracle.' Here Dr. Sanday gives an account of the conclusions to which he has arrived. He wishes to eliminate the element of the 'abnormal' from miracle, and shows how he would do it in reference to certain passages of the Old Testament. As to the feeding of the five thousand he says, 'It is only the miraculous multiplication of the bread which I should regard as doubtful.' But 'only' robs us of everything. We cannot help feeling how unsatisfactory the explanations are, and to propose on such basis 'a real reconciliation between science and religion, a more complete and searching reconciliation than has ever been before,' is to give

away one's ease. Dr. Sanday makes concessions perilous indeed, but he is bold to say that Atheism and Agnosticism are dead or doomed to die.

First Christian Ideas. By Edwin C. Selwyn, D.D. Edited, with an Introductory Memoir, by his eldest son. (Murray. 9s. net.)

The head master of Uppingham devoted his years of retirement to biblical study. He was a first-rate classical scholar, and brought to his later research the same thoroughness that had marked his University career. His first chapter is an acute and suggestive criticism of Bishop Lightfoot's rendering of a fragment from Papias. There is something to discuss on almost every page, and, though one cannot always see eye to eye with Dr. Selwyn, he always makes us think and throws new light on many familiar pages of the New Testament.

Pathways to Christian Unity. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

This volume has been prepared at the request of the Swanwick Free Church Fellowship. 'It is the result of much consultation outside the small circle of writers, and it adopts a line of approach which is characteristic of the younger generation of Christians.' It takes its stand upon experience and judges theory from that standpoint. The writers are Arthur Black, G. E. Darlaston, W. E. Orchard, William Paton, J. H. Squire, and Malcolm Spencer. In studying the Ideal of Christian Unity in the New Testament the writers are driven to the conclusion that it is meant to be as visible as the unity of the body. Union may be left to wait upon the attainment of unity, the importance and urgency of which are forcibly brought out in the second chapter. The differences among the Free Churches do not touch the vital things of our faith. 'Christian Union would be a fraud and a fiction if it did not both represent and engender a real oneness of spirit amongst the members of the Churches.' The groundwork of such union is clearly marked out, as well as the Free Church contribution to the Catholic ideal in its evangelical experience of Christ and Christian fellowship.

The Testing of a Nation. By Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

Most of us felt during the war that the Archbishop of Canterbury's words at great national services never failed to strike the right note. They kept us humble, but they were always full of faith and courage. Gathered together in this volume they form a record of many phases of the war. Its strain and effort, its anxiety and hope, its sharp sorrows, and its thanksgiving, are all mirrored in these pages. The first sermon was preached in Westminster Abbey on August 2, 1914, from the first words of the Lord's Prayer, and the same text was chosen for the sermon in the same place on the signing of the Armistice.

The sermon for the Day of Thanksgiving for Peace in St. Paul's Cathedral commemorates 'the greatest event in human history,' and dwells on the effort—clear, sustained, robust, believing, to which the nation has set its hand. Such sermons and addresses make us live again through the experiences of the war, and kindle afresh the hopes and resolves with which it was waged. It is an inspiring memorial of the past and a pledge of the nation's dedication to the service of the Lord Christ.

Philo's Contribution to Religion. By H. A. A. Kennedy, D.D., D.Sc. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. net.)

Philo has been strangely neglected. He was the contemporary of Christ and of St. Paul, and Prof. Kennedy has been greatly impressed by the extraordinary vitality of his religious interest and the depth of his religious experience. Dr. Kennedy's purpose is to illuminate an unusually fascinating epoch in the story of man's struggle to grasp and understand God. Philo's chief aim was to demonstrate the universal validity of Jewish religion as enshrined in the Old Testament, and especially in the Pentateuch. Moses stands out supreme for him. His allegorical exposition of the Law discusses problems which did not present themselves even to serious Jewish thinkers. His attempts to solve them are moulded by Platonic-Stoic speculations, powerfully coloured by Pythagorean speculations. Dr. Kennedy gives special attention to his views as to man's yearning after God, God's approach to man, and union with God. The book is a beautiful introduction to the workings of a noble mind and heart.

1. *The Town Parson: His Life and Work.* 2. *The Problem of Evil.* By the Rev. Peter Green, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net each.)

1. In 1914 Canon Green delivered a course of lectures on Pastoral Theology before the University of Cambridge and at King's College, London, which he has now written out and enlarged. Few men have a better right to be heard on the subject, and he gets hold of our attention at once by his opening chapter on 'The Ordering of One's Day.' He claims due place for private devotion, and insists on the need of regular study, but he urges that every preacher should have one day in the week for recreation and a thorough annual holiday. He sees also how much may be gained from general reading of travel, biography, essays, poetry, and the best fiction.

2. In his second volume Canon Green does not set himself to solve the problem of the origin and nature of evil, but to find a practical answer to the question, Can there be a wise and beneficent author of such a world as we see around us? His appeal is to the moral sense, and his argument is as far as possible practical. The chapter on God's Omnipotence will clear away many difficulties. 'To require of God that He should create beings free to choose between good and evil yet obliged to choose good is to ask an impossibility.'

Omnipotence does not mean that God can do anything that would involve a contradiction. ‘If the whole world, physical and social, could be made perfect at this instant at the price of the surrender of moral freedom, I should feel it a bargain not worth making.’

The Permanence of Christianity. By Thomas Wilson, B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) ‘The Hastie Lectures for 1915-17’ deal with the Christian fundamentals. Current objections are met with skill and knowledge, and the author deals with the positions held by Nietzsche and Treitschke at some length. The lecture on ‘Authority and Immanence’ is specially important, and full attention is given to the Incarnation and the Virgin Birth. Mr. Wilson says, ‘We know, from personal experience, that the Incarnation embodies the one truly saving principle.’ The discussion is a distinct aid to faith.—*Evangelism in the Remaking of the World.* By Bishop A. W. Leonard. (New York. Methodist Book Concern. \$1 net.) Dr. Leonard is able to draw on his own experience as a pastor, and never forgets that the minister’s supreme business is to bring men and women to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. The lecture on ‘Evangelism in Church Music’ is excellent, and there are many wise counsels which will greatly help ministers in their work.—*Jesus as they saw Him.* By J. Alexander Findlay, M.A. Part II.: The Gospel according to Luke. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) Prof. Findlay has opened a rich vein into the study of the Synoptic Gospels. His work on St. Mark has won a high reputation, and this section on St. Luke is not merely the work of a scholar, but of one who has a keen eye for pictorial effect and knows how to throw new light around familiar passages. Each of his six chapters has its own attraction. They deal with the teaching of Jesus and its method; the general purpose of the writer; Luke the physician and the features of his Gospel. The last chapter: ‘The Gospel of Catholic Hope’ is rich in suggestions as to the universal meaning of the mission of Jesus.—*St. Luke: The Man and his Work.* By H. McLachlan, M.A., B.D. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) Some valuable books on St. Luke have recently been added to our theological lists, but none more suggestive than this. Mr. McLachlan is convinced that the key to New Testament study lies mainly in understanding aright the nature and purpose of Luke’s writings. He is a versatile and accomplished writer, and exhibits the scholarship, graces, and temper which entitle him to rank among Hellenist men of letters. Studies of Luke as linguist, editor, theologian, letter-writer, reporter, and diarist, follow, all fresh and stimulating.—*The Power of the Spirit.* By Percy Dearmer, M.A., D.D. (Milford. 3s. 6d. net.) These four lectures were delivered at Berkeley Divinity School, Connecticut. The first, on ‘Military Virtue,’ shows with apt illustration how the modern meaning of Comforter leaves out the idea of strengthener, which was originally in the word. The other lectures are on the gifts, talents, and fruits of the Spirit. The treatment is somewhat novel and is both arresting and helpful. Nothing

is better than the passage which claims that Christianity is 'so blazingly modern that we have only begun to touch it here and there.' There is much to learn from this fine-spirited study.—*Problems that Perplex*. By J. W. G. Ward. (Allenson. 5s. net.) The minister of New Court discusses eleven problems which cause anxious thought to many. Service in France and in English hospitals has convinced him that a spirit of earnest inquiry about religious questions is abroad, and his wise and helpful treatment of these perplexing problems will bring relief to many minds.—*Lies!* By G. A. Studdert Kennedy. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) Mr. Kennedy has won an enviable reputation as a chaplain, and he will increase it by this outspoken book. He finds 'this post-war world black with lies—biting and buzzing round everything.' Unscrupulous democrats and evil livers all get pilloried in their turn in this vigorous set of papers. Experiences of the war are used with much effect.—*Galilean Days*. By F. W. Drake. (Longmans & Co. 5s. net.) The Rector of Kirby Misperton's new volume of meditations, supplies devotional studies on the chief events of our Lord's ministry in Galilee. The first chapter shows that nowhere else in Palestine were the Jews in such close touch with the life of the great world; nowhere else was there such a busy and crowded life. That section forms the background for studies of the disciples, the synagogues, the parables, the Transfiguration, &c. It is a rich field for thought and study.—*The Hidden Sanctuary*. By the Rev. Jesse Brett, L.Th. (5s. net.) *The Way of Peace*. By E. Burroughs. (3s. 6d. Longmans & Co.) The hidden sanctuary is the place where the saint lives with God. Father Brett shows that 'to live a spiritual life is to live with a definite and sustained outlook towards God.' He traces the progress of the soul in grace and love through the courts of sacrifice and of prayer to that of union with God. One or two phrases show that it is intended for Romanist circles, but it is very spiritual and helpful—a fine flower of Catholic devotion. Canon Burroughs' book has been prepared for Lenten study at the request of the Bishop of London. It is based on the Benedictus as the earliest programme of Christian life. It marks a moral revolution, first in individuals, through them in society. The first chapter dwells on the present distress, and the danger of losing 'the will to betterment, due to a sense that the universe has somehow betrayed us.' 'The way of disappointment' leads on to 'the way of service.' The passport to service is the love of God, and the provision for it the fearlessness which springs from forgiveness at the start, and protection against old enemies.—*The Idylls of Bethany*. By the Rev. W. M. Clow, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.) The household of Bethany is the only interior clearly portrayed in the New Testament, and these twelve expositions set the story of the brother and sisters in the most attractive light. The joys and sorrows of the home, the influence of Jesus, 'the loveliest deed of the Gospels'—all are told with tenderness and insight. It is a book which is sure of a warm welcome.—*Peter: Fisherman, Disciple, Apostle*.

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By F. B. Meyer, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 4s. 6d. net.) We owe many books on Bible characters to Dr. Meyer, and his heart goes out to Peter as the apostle who comes nearer to us than any of his brethren. In twenty-five studies he deals with the great events of Peter's life before and after Pentecost in a picturesque and suggestive way.

—*The Restoration of the Kingdom.* (Headley Brothers.) These five essays on religious reconstruction are the outcome of a series of discussions held at Ashford in 1919. The editor, Mr. Hubbard, is a clergyman, and writes two papers. F. M. Headley gives an account of 'Worship and Ministry in the Society of Friends'; Miss Avery writes on 'The Ministry of Women.' The Rev. H. Strawson's study of 'The Church and the Age' points out the need that each has of the other. The age must have patience, sympathy, and tolerance. It is a wise essay, and the little book is a happy sign of the times.—*The Realm of Prayer.* By R. H. Coates, M.A., D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) This subject is well-worn, but Mr. Coates treats it so freshly and helpfully that his book is sure of a welcome. It is comprehensive, skilfully arranged, and well illustrated. The appendix of quotations from various writers on many aspects of prayer is a novel and very happy feature of a book that is both devout and scholarly.—*The Church and Social Service.* (S.P.C.K. 1s. net.) The Archbishops' Committee on this subject recommends that the physical as well as the moral and spiritual welfare of all classes in the community should be recognized as a primary concern of the Christian Church in its corporate capacity. Candidates for Holy Orders should be instructed in economic and industrial conditions. A six months' course is suggested. After Ordination there should be further training. There are regulations also as to the part the laity should take in social service and as to the parish and rural problems.—*Why not Islam?* by Dr. Ballard (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net), is a wonderful summary of the rise and progress of Mahommedanism, its special traits, and the menace which it presents to Christian civilization. It is packed with facts, and shows the urgent need for Christian missions to Islam. Dr. Ballard has earned the gratitude of all lovers of missions by this masterly survey.—*Is Life worth Living?* By Frank Ballard, D.D. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) The problem of pain is always with us, and the Christian answer to it is here set forth with deep sympathy and insight. It will bring comfort to all who read it.—*Men of Fire.* By J. W. Mahood. (New York: Methodist Book Concern. 75 cents net.) The need of the age, Mr. Mahood thinks, for Men of Fire is greater even than for Tongues of Fire. Fire is 'the Sign of God,' and both pulpit and pew need it. That is the burden of this soul-stirring book.—*Three Comrades of Jesus.* By Alfred D. Watson. (Allenson. 1s. net.) Little sketches of Peter, James, and John which are discriminating and suggestive. They will be read with much pleasure.—Miss Nankiwell's *Where? Whither?* (Allenson. 6d.) is a set of notes on *The Pilgrim's Progress*. They are well done and will help many a teacher to unfold Bunyan's masterpiece.—

The S.P.C.K.'s Translation Series is enriched by three additions. *The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes.* By T. W. Crafer, D.D. (7s. 6d. net.) This obscure and neglected author has never before been introduced to English readers. Dr. Crafer has given much attention to his work, and his Introduction is of great value and interest. The work gives the objections of a heathen critic of Christianity, which reflect the philosophy of Porphyry, and each objection is fully answered.—*The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments.* Collected, translated, and discussed by Montague R. James, D.Litt. (5s. 6d. net.) There is no handy guide in English to the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament of which only fragments have survived, and the Provost of Eton has gathered them together from the writings of the Greek ante-Nicene Fathers and later sources. The fragments are arranged in order from the Apocalypse, Testament, Penitence, and Life of Adam to the Testament of Hezekiah. There is a world of quaint legend here, and Dr. James's notes are most valuable and full of interest.—*The Epistles of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch.* By J. H. Strawley, D.D. (4s. net.) A third and revised edition, with a valuable note on 'The Origin and Growth of the Christian Ministry.' It owes much to Bishop Lightfoot's great work, and is both compact and reliable.—The Epworth Press is issuing some pamphlets of great interest and importance (2d. and 3d. net). The two new Watchwords of Methodism, are *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, by Rev. J. Ernest Rattenbury, which states the view of the Wesleys, and shows in an impressive way the value of the sacramental idea. The Rev. Bardsley Brash has a grand subject, *The New Birth*, which he treats in a fresh and arresting way. Mr. Vallance Cook, in *The Methodist Church: Holy, Catholic, Apostolic*, proves his case in a way that will help many. The Rev. Ernest Pratt's *Why should I join the Church?* gives three strong reasons and meets various objections in a really helpful way. The Rev. George Jackson's *The Financial Way Out* describes the envelope system of church finance, which the writer found so successful at Brixton Hill.—*Good Tidings: A Series of Nine Sermons.* By T. W. Fawthrop, F.R.G.S. (Epworth Press. 2s. net). The subjects are well chosen, carefully worked out and happily illustrated; the volume will bring comfort to troubled minds and light to those who are perplexed.—*A Little Drama of the Crucifixion.* By Ernest J. B. Kirtlan, D.D. (Epworth Press. 1s. 3d. net), is a modernization of the Towneley Mystery Play on the Crucifixion. It shows how the Church used the drama to bring home to unlettered folk the great truths of religion. Dr. Kirtlan's Introduction is of special value, and the drama is reverent and restrained, though it has been necessary to omit some realistic passages. The little volume is a mirror for the religious life of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

A History of the Christian Church. By Williston Walker, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 14s. net.)

THIS work, by the Yale Professor of Ecclesiastical History, is likely for a long time to come to hold the field without a rival as a masterly and illuminating survey of the whole course of Christian history. Not only is it a full and adequate presentation of the facts, but the author is clearly a master of the recognized sources of information and the most recent historical investigations. Free from bias, succinct and sane in its judgements, trustworthy and accurate in its statements, the volume fills a distinct gap, and the English student will give a cordial welcome to a work which, while not free from Transatlantic mannerisms, is a good example of the thoroughness of modern Transatlantic scholarship. The bibliography, which is a useful feature, gives evidence of the excellent work done by American scholars in this realm of study, while at the same time the best authorities of Great Britain and the Continent are indicated. Perfect evenness of treatment is not to be expected in a survey which covers so vast a territory, but Dr. Walker has shown an admirable sense of proportion in his treatment of the material. He brings the story down to the present day, indicating modern ecclesiastical and theological movements, relationships tending to reunion among the Churches of England and Scotland, the growth of religion in America, and the tendencies of biblical criticism, mentioning Troeltsch and Bousset as living representatives of the *Religionsgeschichtliche* school. On the whole, the striking feature of the discussion is the emphasis on the lives and personalities of the actors of the mighty drama.

Memories of George Meredith, O.M. By Lady Butcher. (Constable & Co. 5s. net.)

Lady Butcher first saw George Meredith on a June morning in 1867, when she and her cousin, Jim Gordon, an Eton boy of sixteen, went from his home at Pixholme up Box Hill to see the sun rise. The boy proposed to shout up Mr. Meredith: 'He's quite mad, but very amusing, he likes walks and sunrises.' They threw small stones at his window. She was then a girl of thirteen, and will never forget how Mr. Meredith 'poured forth the most wonderful prose hymn to Nature, Life, and what he called *Obligation*, by which I understood he meant Duty.' That was the beginning of forty-one years of friendship. When Miss Brandreth married her cousin, they lived for a time at Pixholme and had the pleasure of introducing Robert Louis Stevenson to Mr. Meredith, who was very much interested in

the young author. Stevenson had 'the art of drawing out the very best of Mr. Meredith's conversational powers, and his best was a marvel.'

John Murray, III. 1808–1892. A Brief Memoir. By John Murray IV. With Portrait and Illustrations. (Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Murray had long cherished the idea of writing his father's life, but it was not till January, 1919, that he contributed the article to the *Quarterly Review*, which is now published as a volume with two or three slight additions and with an account of the origin and history of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers, and a selection of Mr. Murray's letters to his family between 1830 and 1891. When John Murray III succeeded to the business in 1843, it was not in a very flourishing financial position, and he had many strenuous years in front of him. He had studied at Edinburgh University, and geology and mineralogy were favourite subjects to the end of his life. He was present at the dinner in Edinburgh at which Sir Walter Scott first publicly acknowledged the authorship of the *Waverley Novels*. All his holidays from 1829 to 1884 were saved up for travel, and the famous handbooks which he prepared and published brought not only popularity, but gratifying financial success. Dr. Schliemann, was his intimate friend ; Mr. Gladstone often used to call for a chat, and Dr. Livingstone was a constant guest when in England. One of his triumphs was the series of dictionaries which he planned and carried out with Dr. William Smith.

The Publishing Family of Rivington. By Septimus Rivington, M.A. (Rivingtons.)

The Rivingtons are an old Derbyshire family settled at Chesterfield in 1601, when George Rivington was entered as an apprentice at Stationers' Hall. In 1711 Charles Rivington, who was born in 1688, and came up to London as apprentice to Matthews, the well-known theological bookseller, bought the flourishing business of Richard Chiswell on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard. In 1714 he removed to the north side of St. Paul's Churchyard, where he put up the sign of the Bible and the Crown. He published John Wesley's *The Christian Pattern* in 1735, of which a full-page illustration is given, Samuel Wesley's *Advice to a Young Clergyman*, and John Wesley's sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1735. There was a considerable demand for sermons and books on practical divinity, and these were an important feature of Mr. Rivington's business, as bookseller and publisher. He made a great success with Richardson's *Pamela*, which went through five editions in its first year. An amusing daguerrotype of Richardson reading *Clarissa* to his friends is a feature of this volume. Charles was succeeded by his sons, John and James. James afterwards settled as a bookseller in Philadelphia, and John served as Master of the Stationers' Com-

pany in 1775 and succeeded Jacob Tonson as managing partner of many important books belonging to the Association of Booksellers. The house was closely identified with the Oxford Movement as publishers of the famous Tracts ; 12,000 copies were sold of Tract XC before it went out of print in 1846. The present firm has developed an important set of standard educational publications, and Mr. Septimus Rivington gives details which show how much thought has been put into securing the best work from the most competent teachers.

From Friend to Friend. By Lady Ritchie. With a Portrait. (Murray. 6s. net.)

Miss Ritchie, who has edited this volume, says that her sister-in-law put together and revised its papers in the last months of her life. They are a welcome addition to the gallery of portraits of those early Victorians whom Lady Ritchie loved. Here are vivid companion studies of Fanny Kemble and her sister, Mrs. Sartorius. The description of Fanny Kemble reciting a scene from *As You Like It*, till Rosalind and Celia and the Duke and the forest all seemed to be in the room, is one of the gems of the book. But it is only one. Lady Ritchie touched nothing that she did not adorn. We see her friends—Mrs. Cameron, the Tennysons, the Kembles, Lord Leighton, and all the goodly company in the most gracious lights. Mrs. Kemble said that her own religious faith was ‘invincible, unreasoning.’

Henry Nicholson Ellacombe. A Memoir. Edited by Arthur W. Hill. (*Country Life*.)

Canon Ellacombe, of Bitton, was one of the great gardeners of England. The Latin motto that headed his manuscript garden-book sums up his lifelong attitude to other lovers of gardening : Petimusque damusque vicissim.' He was almost annoyed if his visitors did not carry off a lavish supply of cuttings, and his requests for plants from Kew were large and constant. He belonged to an old west-country family which came originally from Kenn, near Exeter, and followed his father in the family living of Bitton in 1850. His father had great gifts as an engineer, and worked for some time with Brunel, who thought very highly of his powers. His son had no great love of massed colours, but filled every inch of his ground with plants and flowers. The soil was deep and rich, and the canon spared no effort to give each plant the right position for securing its beauty and health. He had the collector's spirit, and the more kinds he could get in his garden the better he was pleased. A pleasant chapter is given to his travels, which were a never-failing source of enjoyment and were always used to enlarge his knowledge and swell his collection. The book will charm all lovers of plants and flowers, and will help to keep alive the memory of a genial and gracious clergyman of the old school.

The Letters of Charles Sorley. With a chapter of Biography. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

Professor Sorley has done us all a kindness by publishing these letters from his son. His poems have been so much enjoyed that a strong desire was expressed to know more of this schoolboy who seemed destined to make a name for himself in literature. Nearly 130 letters are given, with certain omissions and small alterations. Mrs. Sorley has written the beautiful biographical chapter, which helps a reader to understand many allusions in the letters. The school letters bristle with a clever boy's enthusiasms about his long walks and his favourite writers. Every page provokes discussion. At Schwerin he saw the happier side of German life, and could not 'imagine a nicer nation'; at Jena he discovered that 'Sedan has ruined one type of German, for I'm sure the German nature is the nicest in the world as far as it is not warped by the German Empire.' The notes on his reading are piquant, and often brightly discriminating. He thought Rupert Brooke's earlier poems were his best. 'When I survey the wondrous Cross' is strangely attributed to John Newton. He visits Eucken, who was 'exceptionally kind' to him, and was regarded as a great social force at Jena. He was arrested in Germany on August 2, but was released the same night, and on reaching England applied for a commission. He went to France in May, 1915, and on October 13 was shot in the head as he led his company at the 'hair-pin' trench near Hulluch. The letters have a verve and spice about them which gives them extraordinary interest.

Letters and Papers of Algernon Hyde Villiers. With a Memoir by Harry Graham. (S.P.C.K. 10s. net.)

Mr. Villiers was the youngest son of Sir Francis Villiers, British Minister at Brussels, and grandson of the fourth Earl of Clarendon. After graduating with double honours at Oxford he joined a firm of stockbrokers in the city. He married the daughter of Mr. Herbert Paul in 1910, and when war broke out joined the Hertfordshire Yeomanry. He served in Egypt in the ranks, and after becoming a captain sacrificed it in order to get to the Front. He went to France in command of a machine-gun section, and was shot through the head by a sniper four months later on November 25, 1917, while taking part in the capture of Bourlon Wood. His letters are full of passages that one would like to quote.

From a Soldier's Heart. By Harold Speakman. (Abingdon Press. \$1.25 net.)

Lieut. Speakman tells the story of the American regiment which fought in Italy. Months after the Armistice some of its men helped to put down a revolution in Montenegro. The writer was in charge of the Third Platoon and is proud of the discipline of the American Army, which 'sends a man's soul along with his body into battle.' The American soldier uses his head and follows of his own will where

his leader goes. It is delightful to see how the men enjoyed the beauty of England. The usually boisterous American soldier sat looking out of the car windows almost without a word.

The Leicestershires beyond Baghdad. By Edward J. Thompson, M.C. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.)

Baghdad was our first substantial victory which no subsequent reverse swept away, yet next to nothing has been heard in England of the hard fighting which made the city secure. The seventh division tried to put together a connected account of their campaigning, and Mr. Thompson was asked to prepare it. But the censor refused to allow any reference to units by name, and that made the task so useless and soulless that it had to be abandoned. Mr. Thompson has now selected two campaigns, for railhead and for Tekrit, and has made a connected narrative. His Introduction supplies the general framework of dates and events. Between Baghdad and Samarra was a stretch of eighty miles of railway, and if this could be captured the Turk would have to supply his troops from Mosul by the treacherous and shallow Tigris. Baghdad was taken on March 11, 1917. Next month the march on Samarra began, and Beled station was taken in a little battle with miraculously slight losses. Mr. Thompson's account of the fighting and marching is lit up by many picturesque details which show the mettle of the Indian troops and the bravery of our young officers. It is a story that makes us proud and thankful.

The Road to En-dor. By E. H. Jones, Lt. I.A.R.O. With Illustrations by C. W. Hill, Lt., R.A.F. (John Lane. 8s. 6d. net.)

A postcard which found its way to Yozgad Camp, where the writer and his companions were prisoners in the hands of the Turks, led them to kill much empty and weary time with spiritualism. Lieut. Jones showed a skill in guiding the glass to certain letters that was almost uncanny. He baffled his brother officers. Better still he attracted the attention of the Turkish commandant and his unsavoury interpreter, who enlisted the help of the friends to discover some treasure buried by one of the Armenian victims. The way that these grasping ruffians were hoodwinked till the two lieutenants were sent with the interpreter to find the treasure, is a story of cunning and credulity which it would be hard to match. The officers at last feigned madness, and baffled all the medical experts at Constantinople, till after six terrible months they were sent to England by an exchange ship, in October, 1918. Lieut. Hill describes in detail the devices they used to delude the Turk. It was all pure wit and invention, but it incidentally brought out the deplorable effects of belief in spiritualism. The writers feel that if their book saves some bereaved wife or mother from the unwholesome excitement of the séance, and the trivial babble of a hired trickster, the miseries through which they passed in winning freedom will have had a most ample reward.

The Reformation in Ireland. By Henry Holloway, M.A., B.D. (S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.) This book sets forth the facts connected with ecclesiastical legislation for Ireland. 'In the time of Henry VIII, the constitution of the Irish Parliament was not materially different from what it had been in the fourteenth century. It still represented only the English race and legislated only for their interests.' Ireland's connexion with England led to a series of Acts beginning with the Act of Supreme Head passed by the English Parliament in 1534. The course of legislation under Henry VIII is described at length, and its effects are traced. Other chapters deal with the Acts of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth.

The Cistercians in Yorkshire. By J. S. Fletcher. (S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d. net.) Mr. Fletcher gives his first chapter to the rise of the Cistercian Order, and the rule adopted by it. It was not a scholarly order, but believed in setting all its members to some form of manual work. Waverley, near Farnham, was its first house in England, but it was introduced into Yorkshire by monks whom Bernard sent direct from Clairvaux. Rievaulx was founded in 1131, Fountains in 1132, Byland in 1143, Jervaulx in 1145, Salley in 1146, Roche and Kirkstall in 1147, Meux in 1150. Many of the first Cistercians were foreigners, but after them came Yorkshire gentry, who filled the various offices of the house. At the Dissolution the eight abbeys had an income of £8,000 a year amongst them, equal to £45,000 to-day. Mr. Fletcher describes their days of power, and the fate which befel them in 1536. It is a story which all Englishmen, and Yorkshiremen in particular, will find intensely interesting from first to last.

Swinburne as I Knew Him. By Coulson Kernahan. (John Lane. 5s. net.) So much has recently been written about Swinburne that Mr. Kernahan has felt free to share with us his own knowledge of the poet's life and character. He describes the ruse by which Watts-Dunton saved Swinburne from drinking brandy, and the praise of his mediocre poetry by which he helped his friend to regain confidence and skill. His influence over the poet was due to 'patience, forbearance, solicitude, understanding, and devotion.' We get many other glimpses of the poet both in his wayward and in his gracious moods in these graphic pictures of life at 'The Pines.'—*Indian Nationality.* By R. M. Gilchrist, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) In an important Introduction Prof. Muir, of Manchester University, calls attention to the critical stage now reached in the impact of Western ideas and methods upon the ancient civilization of India. Mr. Gilchrist sets forth the fundamental facts of Indian social, religious, and political life, with their possible bearing on Indian responsible government. India has geographical unity, but her nationality is at present in the making. Britain has laid the true basis of an Indian State, in common interests, common rights, and a common ideal. The greatest antagonism of Indian fusion is religion, but he sees signs that the Motherland is

greater than Brahman and Sudra, Punjabi and Bengali, Mohammedan and Hindu. That spirit will gradually produce the unity of Church, State, and peoples.—*The Letters of St. Augustine*. By W. J. Sparrow-Simpson, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 10s. net.) The aim of this work is to give an account of Augustine's life and thought as seen through his letters. They number 220, and are here arranged in eleven groups according to subject, preserving the chronological order so far as possible within each group. That arrangement enables Dr. Sparrow-Simpson to show how Augustine changed his views about coercion in religion, and passed from belief in an universal offer of salvation to his later position as to predestination. He also ceased to ascribe the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul. The letters show the way the great thinker looked on the problems of Church life and Christian theology, and Dr. Sparrow-Simpson's comments and expositions are always illuminating. The book is indispensable for all students of Augustine's writings.—*World History*. By Viscount Bryce. (H. Milford. 2s. net.) The Annual Raleigh Lecture for 1919 was suggested by Sir Walter's famous *History of the World*, written in the Tower. The outbreak of war first made us realize that mankind had virtually become one community, and Viscount Bryce suggests that a complete history of the world might be written giving 'an account of the Process of the Forces whereby races, tribes, nations, and states have been, or are being, drawn together into one common life commensurate with the earth which they inhabit.'—*A History of Everyday Things in England. Part II.* By Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell. (Batsford. 8s. 6d. net.) The earlier part of this history has won a warm welcome, and the second part has been prepared with the same thoroughness and skill. It suggests that every school should make a chart showing how great movements have arisen in architecture, painting, poetry, and other realms of art and commerce. The record opens with the change from the Middle Ages to the modern world in the sixteenth century, which was a far greater change than that produced by the Norman Conquest. In the reign of Edward IV the spirit of extravagance began to die out and dress became simpler. The coloured illustrations show the costumes of the period in a very effective way.—*The Outside of the Inside*. By R. A. Fisher, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) The minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, has given us a fresh and frank book of reminiscences. He describes his teachers at school and college, his parishioners in Skilmorlie, Jedburgh, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, and gives some pleasant little incidents of his experience as a court preacher. He has much to say about preachers and sermons. In October, 1918, he went to superintend the huts for soldiers in a district of France, and never addressed more attentive audiences. 'They watch a speaker like pointer dogs.' This is a modest book that will be read with warm appreciation.—*The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*. By H. F. Westlake, M.A., F.S.A. (S.P.C.K. 15s. net.) This is an exhaustive survey of a subject of great importance to which little attention has hitherto been

devoted. The social life of England from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries can scarcely be understood without taking into account the considerable part played by the parochial gilds. The laws of England from the reign of Ine of Wessex to that of Edward the Confessor assumed that every free man was a member of a gild.—The S.P.C.K. is meeting a real need by its *Story of the English Towns. Leeds and Sheffield*, by J. S. Fletcher (3s. 6d. net) are the first volumes. The cloth covers, with the coat of arms of the town, are excellent; the end paper maps show the growth of the towns, and there are many illustrations of interest. The history of the place, with outstanding events, particulars of local industries, and sketches of distinguished natives combine to make very attractive and useful reading. In the *Sheffield* volume, p. 121 and index, read James Montgomery instead of Robert.—*Westminster*, by H. F. Westlake, Custodian and Minor Canon of the Abbey, gives an epitome of the history in the first three chapters and in three others describes 'The Seat of Kings, Local Government,' Topography, and some Institutions. The illustrations are of special interest.—*The Life-Story of an Australian Evangelist*. By W. G. Taylor. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.) Mr. Taylor was born at Knayton, near Thirsk, and went out to Australia in 1870, where he did valuable work as a Methodist preacher for thirteen years. In 1884 he was appointed to take charge of the York Street Circuit in Sydney, and there he built up the great mission with all manner of agencies for the benefit of young and old, an Evangelists' Training Institution, a Home for Sisters of the People, &c. The glory of the book is its never-ceasing stream of miracles of grace. Such a story will set many hearts on fire.—*Some Sources of Human History*. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) The object of this book is to look over the country on each side of the beaten track of history teaching. It is divided into three sections—Unwritten history; Byways of Written History; Habits, Custom, and Law. The survey begins with the geological ages, and passes to the changes in historic times, the evidence of roads, names, architecture, and art. The byways of written history lead to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, India, and China, and discuss papyri, coins, weights and measures, &c. It is a luminous survey, full of interest and instruction.—*The Emperor Julian*. By Edward J. Martin, B.D. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) This essay on Julian's relations with the Christian religion is based on a study of the original authorities. The Church had to face circumstances as unfavourable as any that she ever had to meet. To Julian paganism meant theurgy, sacrifices, mysteries, and magic. The failure of his scheme is described and explained, and the tragedy of his life is brought out in this graphic study of the man and his times.—*The Church Year in Human Story*. By Jane E. Stoddart. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.) The aim of this volume is to illustrate the lessons for the Sundays and Holy Days of the Christian Year from Advent to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity. It is the kind of compilation in which Miss Stoddart excels. The passages are chosen with a fine

catholicity and a keen sense of what will interest and stimulate readers. They are deftly woven together, so that a whole section will be read with real pleasure. It is a book that will not only aid devotion but will supply speakers with many a happy illustration for sermons and lessons on the chief festivals.—*Don Raimon*, by E. K. Seth-Smith (S.P.C.K. 3s. net), is the story of Raymund Lull set in its historic framework. It is told with rare grace and tenderness and is beautifully illustrated. It shows the perils and difficulties that beset the early missionaries to Moslems.—*Herbert Tingle*. By J. B. C. Hall. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) A remarkable story of the amusements of a delicate boy and the way that he trained himself by them. We have met no record quite like it.—*Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D., A Tribute and Memoir*. By his son, A. P. Moore-Anderson, M.A., M.D. (Morgan & Scott. 3s. net.) A sketch of Sir Robert Anderson's public service as Head of the Criminal Investigation Department and his work as preacher and author which many will want to read. He was a fearless champion of the Faith.—Three additions have been made to the *Helps for Students of History*. (S.P.C.K.) Prof. Souter's *Hints on Translation from Latin into English* (6d. net) includes passages from Latin authors, with renderings by distinguished scholars. His *Hints on the Study of Latin* (8d. net) covers the period A.D. 125–750 and gives lists and brief accounts of the chief authors of each century. The Provost of Eton, Dr. James, writes of *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (2s. net). He starts with the Eton MSS. and takes us round the chief centres where Greek and Latin MSS. are preserved, describing their pedigrees, their wanderings, the chief MSS. of each century, and the catalogues of MSS. It is a wonderful survey packed into small compass.—*Christianity and Slavery*, by Arthur H. Tabrum (S.P.C.K. 1s. 3d. net), is a detailed examination and answer to Mr. McCabe's chapter on 'The Slave, the Serf, and the Worker,' in his book on the influence of Christianity in Europe. The statements of that chapter are shown to be unreliable.—*Tekel: The Papacy and the War*. By Arthur C. Champneys, M.A. (Bell & Sons. 1s. 6d. net.) The plain facts about the attitude of the Papacy to the war are here set forth dispassionately but clearly, and the conclusion is reached that the Bishop who claims to be the Head of the Church and the Vicar of Christ had 'neither part nor lot in this matter'—the prevention of 'the establishment of a kingdom of the devil upon earth.' According to plain facts, the Papacy has been 'weighed in the balances and found wanting.'—*Roman Catholic Claims*. By the Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 4s. net.) For this eleventh edition Dr. Gore has rewritten two pages on the early history of the Church of Rome in view of the investigations of Mr. Edmundson's *Church in Rome in the First Century*. Otherwise this is a reprint without any considerable changes of a work which is recognized as a masterly defence of the Anglican position against Roman Catholic claims.

GENERAL

The Tank Corps. By Major Clough Williams-Ellis, M.C., and A. Williams-Ellis. With an Introduction by Major-General H. J. Ellis, C.B., D.S.O. (*Country Life*. 10s. 6d. net.)

MANY brilliant individual achievements that would have added lustre to this record have had to be cut out or put aside. The authors found that not one-half of the deeds of gallantry could be revealed, and have therefore given only those which illustrated a particular phase of the fighting, or of which a first-hand account was available. Early in 1917 the Tank was still comparatively untested. 'The later issues of the Mark I developed weaknesses in detail so alarming as to preclude anything more than a short-lived effort in battle. Not until the Mark IV machine was well into delivery could a guarantee as to its degree of mechanical reliability be given, and by that time the trend of the year's campaigning was unalterably fixed.' The mud crisis in Flanders was surmounted, but the swamp crisis could not be defeated. When the difficulty caused by the mud of Flanders was surmounted, it was found that the Hindenburg trenches were a foot too wide to be crossed without some form of help. Then the effect of concentrated machine-gun fire and the vulnerability of the tank to the ordinary field gun had to be grappled with. After a trial at Hatfield the first hundred and fifty of these landships were manufactured at Messrs. Forsters' agricultural implement works in Lincoln. The training camp was now at Thetford, where no civilian was allowed to pass the guard. The difficulty of training the crew and fitting the new arm in to the war operations was very great. On September 15, 1916, the Tanks got into action, and an airman reported : 'A tank is walking up the High Street of Flers with the British Army cheering behind.' Defects in the tanks were overcome with wonderful ingenuity, and on July 4, 1918, sixty were used at Hamel. Fifty-seven of them came through the day without a scratch. Only thirteen of the men were wounded. The new tanks had a deadly power of manœuvre and crashed over machine-gun emplacements, crushing guns and crews beneath them. It is a story of marvels, and many striking illustrations help a reader to enter into the spirit of what may be called the chief romance of the Great War.

Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy. With a Portrait. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d.)

The Preface to Mr. Hardy's *Wessex Poems* bears date 1898, when only four of the pieces it contained had been previously published, though many were written long before and others partly rewritten.

The preface describes them as largely dramatic in conception. 'Time's Laughing-Stocks' appeared in 1909, and the 'Poems of War and Patriotism,' headed by the stirring song of the soldiers, 'Men who march away,' have been born in the last few years of storm and stress. Mr. Hardy has carefully revised the poems as they originally appeared, sometimes very felicitously. They are revelations of himself in all his varying moods, and epitomes of human nature as he finds it in prince and peasant. 'A King's Soliloquy on the Night of his Funeral' is a weird title for a meditation on the limits of kingship. The poems on birds are such as only their true lover could have written. That on 'The Robin' is exquisite. The volume gets close to the heart of things and helps us to look at the world with the eyes of one who faces facts fearlessly. We are glad to see that another volume of poems is promised.

Sappho and the Vigil of Venus. Translated by Arthur S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. net.) Sappho is known to us by an ode and a half and by 170 fragments of six lines down to a single word. Mr. Way has grouped the thoughts together, adding enough connective matter to make an intelligible sequence. His Introduction gives the facts of Sappho's life and tributes to her genius. The pieces are love songs, full of tender feeling and expressed in golden words. 'The Vigil of Venus' seems to Mr. Way to breathe most of the spirit of Sappho, and may have been inspired by a perusal of her poems. The beauty of Mr. Way's version is indisputable, and it is no small privilege to get so close to the heart of the greatest poetess of the old world.—*A Treasury of Eighteenth-Century English Verse.* Chosen and edited by H. J. Massingham. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. net.) This is a very welcome and very choice addition to the *Golden Treasury Series*. Mr. Massingham has confined his selection to the forty-four years between the death of Shakespeare and the Restoration, 1626–1660. That is the only period since the Renaissance of which large tracts are virgin soil, and it has a fine yield of genuine poetry, as this selection shows. Mr. Massingham's Introduction proves that the work has been a labour of love, and his notes are both illuminating and happily phrased. The poets are arranged in alphabetical order, and are followed by anonymous poems as charming as any in the selection. The period contains the largest selection of mystical verse in the language.—*Vae Victis.* By Edward J. Thompson, M.C. (Epworth Press. 1s. net.) The writer served with the Mesopotamian forces, and here draws the veil that covers scenes of Turkish barbarity. The woes of children and women, the massacre of Armenians—all are shown with a purpose. It is poetry on fire with hate of cruel wrongs and of artificial famine worse than Indian famine. The booklet is a battle cry, and there can be no peace till the wrongs of Syria described in the preface are done away by the downfall of Turkish misrule.—*The Poems of Gilbert White.* (S.P.C.K. 6s. net.) Bishop White was born in Cape Colony in 1859, educated at Fettes College and Oriel, went to North Queens-

land after he had been ordained in 1885, in quest of health. Fifteen years later he became Bishop of Caffraria and fifteen later still of Willochra in South Australia. Sir Herbert Warren, in his interesting Introduction, tells us that for many years the bishop's headquarters were on Thursday Island, off the extreme northern point of Australia, whence he traversed that vast tropical gulf which was his first bishopric. The poems are arranged in three groups: Nature, man, God. Many aspects of nature are described which will be fresh to an English reader. It is homely and pleasant poetry, which has movement and ease as well as an appeal all its own.—*Songs of War and Patriotism.* By K. Knight Hallowes. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) There is much patriotic feeling in this little collection of poems, and deep sympathy for the noble sufferers in the war. For Mr. Hallowes the sorrows are lighted up by faith and hope, and his verses will comfort many sad hearts. Love of England inspires one beautiful little poem, and 'Holbrook's Feat' in sinking a Turkish warship finds a worthy laureate.

Sir Roger de Coverley and other Literary Pieces. By Sir James George Frazer. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net). This volume represents the interludes in a life devoted to graver studies. Sir James professes to visit Coverley Hall and to unearth there some papers relating to the *Spectator* Club, which give glimpses of Sir Roger listening to Handel in the Temple Church, and shed new light on the private life of Mr. William Honeycomb. The atmosphere of the time has been caught, and Addison himself would have felt such imitation a delightful compliment. 'The Quest of the Gorgon's Head' is a fantasia on the story of Perseus. The whole adventure seems to move on to its grim finale before our eyes. Nearly a hundred pages are given to a charming life of Cowper, and the papers on Robertson Smith and on Fison and Howett pay unstinted tribute to friends and fellow-workers. Translations in prose and poetry and some slighter papers, each of which has its own beauty, fill up a volume which will delight all who read it.—*Sir Hobbard de Hoy: The Religious Education of the Adolescent.* By Rev. E. F. Braley, M.A., LL.M. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. net.) Mr. Braley is organizer of religious education in the diocese of Southwell, and his little volume consists of a course of lectures delivered at Nottingham University College under the auspices of the University Sunday School Council. Thomas Tusser supplies the title in his *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandry*, which dates from 1578. The first chapter describes the period of adolescence as one of stress and turmoil. Physical growth is attended by the development of the emotions. The adolescent realizes that he is no longer a child and wishes to fit himself for a new order of things. Religion should tide young people over this crisis by providing an outlet and a means of expression for certain feelings, and producing a calming and softening effect upon others. Many wise suggestions are made as to the teacher's work and the way in which the Sunday class may

really help young folk in this crisis of their lives.—*The Way of Beauty.* By Sister Agnes Mason. (Longmans & Co. 5s. net.) The object of this little book is to gather together all we know about beauty and its relations to God and to our religious and national life. In the present struggle of aims and claims for a better England beauty is rather in danger of being choked out. Sister Agnes dwells on the sins against beauty which callous money-makers and others commit. Yet on all sides those who care for beauty in town and country are beginning to be heard. Children can be taught through flowers and birds to love beauty.—*The More Fatal Opulence of Bishops; Or, Twenty Years After and Ten Times Worse.* By Hubert Handley. (Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d. net.) Twenty years ago Mr. Handley's book on *Fatal Opulence of Bishops* attracted great attention as a clergyman's protest against a system which brought his own Church into evil odour among the people. He now returns to the charge, laying special emphasis on Bishopthorpe, Fulham, and Coventry, and making practical resolutions which might serve as a basis for reform.—*The King's Indiscretion.* By Michael Kaye. (Stanley Paul & Co. 7s. net.) The Due de Choiseul employs Etienne de Lavannes to secure some papers which compromised his master, Louis XV. The service comes when the young fellow's fortunes are at zero, and his mission to England lays him open to the charge of treachery and inconstancy, but he wins the papers and save the king's reputation. His love for his English cousin makes a charming story, and Mary's brother Noll and her rather grim elder brother Toby and the lady of his heart are all drawn with skill and discernment in this first-rate story.—*Jean Denholm's Venture.* By Thomas Cassels. (Morgan & Scott. 3s. 6d. net.) Whilst her minister is at the Front, Jean takes charge of a turbulent Sunday school. She describes her woes and her triumph in some racy letters to her sister. There is movement and spice in the letters, and Jean's love affair forms a happy climax to a book that will both help and charm Sunday-school workers.—*An Helpmeet.* By Hannah Needham. (Morland. 6s. net.) A good story on woman's true vocation. Miss Mayne does capital work as a village teacher, and finds there a lover after her own heart. The Vicar's sermon on 'I will make him an helpmeet for him' gives the keynote of the story.—*Proving his Mettle,* by John G. Rowe (Epworth Press. 5s. net), is a spirited story of the days of the Black Prince. Geoffrey Halford will become a favourite with all boys, and his fine sense of duty, his courtesy and chivalry make him a true knight. Mr. Rowe knows the period well and he makes it live.—*The Young Physician.* By Francis Brett Young. (Collins. 7s. net.) This is a powerful story, and the sketch of hospital life and training has real knowledge behind it. Young Ingleby does well at school and puts his heart into his medical course in the city of iron. He gets associated with a girl of bad reputation, and the story ends with a tragedy that might well have wrecked his life.—*Pitman's Business Man's Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Commerce.* (Pitman & Sons.) More than fifty experts

have collaborated in the production of this encyclopaedia. This is the first of thirty-six fortnightly parts, price 1s. 4d. net, and when completed it will make a volume of 1,800 pages. It has maps and illustrations, and its articles are clear and compact and thoroughly up to date.—*The Painter's Voice*. By William Kiddier. (Fifield. 2s. 6d. net.) Here are thoughts packed into sparkling phrases. ‘The garden of God has no winter: faith is a deathless flower.’ ‘The purest flame in all writings is Saint Mark. His few words are enough: because they contain the dear remain of Christ.’ It is a book to make one think.—*The Christ of the Soldier*. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) Many will be glad to see how Methodist chaplains in the navy and the army look on the religious situation. The soldiers’ ideas of morality, of religion, and of the Churches are clearly set out in this set of letters, and the duty and opportunity of the Church are shown in a way that will stir many to new zeal for Christ. The soldier wants a religion in earnest; he is ready to follow a bold leader, and the appeal to the spirit of venture and sacrifice will not be in vain: the book is intensely interesting and valuable.—*The New Days*. By Edward Shillito. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) These ‘words addressed to the soul of the nation’ made a deep impression when they appeared in the *Westminster Gazette*. Mr. Shillito thinks and makes his readers think in a way that will chasten and sweeten all their life and service.—*Padre Gault's Stunt Book* (Epworth Press. 3s. net.) is an account of work done to brighten the leisure hours of Australian soldiers. Padre Gault overflows with ideas and with goodwill. He won the hearts of the men, gave them entertainments which banished sad thoughts and kept them out of all kinds of mischief. He brightened Sunday as well as week-day by his stunts, and found that the men had a firm belief in religion and an enthusiasm for Christ and all the graces of sacrifice and unselfishness. It is a unique record and a delightful one.—*Leadership of Girls' Activities*. By Mary E. Moxey. (New York Methodist Book Concern. 50 cents net.) A careful and practical study of the whole subject of work among girls. Mental and physical recreation, study, religion all are discussed, and wise counsels are given. It is a valuable addition to the *Training Courses for Leadership* series.—*Woodcraft Scouting in Town and Suburb*. By Silver Wolf. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) The scouts adopted Red Indian names and badges to the great delight of all. Their chief haunts were at Beckenham and around the Elephant and Castle, and this racy account of them and their doings will delight other troops of Scouts. The clever illustrations are by the Grey Badger of the troop.—*Names and Addresses of Circuit Stewards, 1920* (9d. net), is one of the lists of which Wesleyan officials know the value. It is both complete and reliable.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (January).—In ‘The Church and Socialism’ the Bishop of Hereford deeply regrets that the Archbishops’ Report on ‘Christianity and Industrial Problems’ should have been sent broadcast over the country before it had been considered by the Bishops and the Convocations. He asks ‘what economic hardship can compare in moral injury with the silent ubiquitous terrorism which lies behind the successful organization of a “lightning strike.”’ The editor writes on ‘Nationalization.’ He thinks the critics of the capitalist would do wisely to reflect that the only alternative to the freedom and elasticity of enterprises financed with private money is the monotonous tyranny of the bureaucratic State. Mr. Gosse has a very interesting article on ‘Samuel Butler.’

The Round Table (December).—‘The Price of Liberty’ shows that the problem brought to a head by the war is how to fit society for the immense dominion it has now acquired over natural forces. ‘The hope of the world lies only in policy which directly aims at inclining men and sections of men to consider others before themselves.’ The writer holds that there is much more unselfishness in human motive than we are apt to allow for. ‘European Reconstruction’ is a brief ‘retrospect and prospect’ which urges that if the victory of the Allies is not to be turned into a world-wide disaster, Western public opinion must be roused from its present carelessness and its absorption in domestic policies and conflicts which are after all of minor importance.

Hibbert Journal (January).—Prince Troubetzkoy, in describing the strong anti-religious element in Bolshevism, prophesies that ‘The materialist Utopia is doomed. The victory of the spirit is assured.’ All friends of Russia will agree in the desire expressed, but the facts are difficult to ascertain. Prof. Boutroux’ Huxley Lecture on ‘The Value of Moral Ideas’ deserves study; the connexion between the Ideal and Reality is a crucial factor in the argument. Prof. Curtis’ account of the proposed articles of reunion in the Scottish Churches is the clearest we have seen. Southrons are easily confused in the discussion of a subject familiar in all North Britain. Sir O. Lodge writes on Spiritualism without contributing much that is new. Dr. G. W. Wade answers the question, ‘Does Historical Criticism imperil the substance of Christian Faith?’ with a decided negative, and Miss Constance Maynard, under the title ‘Is Christ

alive to-day ?' strengthens a similar line of apologetic argument by calling up 'the three witnesses,' the Bible, Nature, and Experience. Other articles, 'Life and Death,' by T. W. Rolleston, 'World-Lore,' by Sir F. Younghusband, and 'Stars and Flowers,' by Eva Martin, give variety to a number that is full of interest.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The leading article by Dr. Armitage Robinson is on 'The Apostolic Anaphora and the Prayer of St. Polycarp.' It contains a criticism of a work by Dom Cagin, and its interest chiefly lies in the claim that the Eucharistic prayer preserved in the Egyptian Church Order contains a formula of consecration which had Apostolic sanction. Rev. F. J. Badcock, in an interesting article, contends that 'the communion of saints' in the Apostles' Creed means 'the communion of Christians in the holy things,' viz. the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. As it happens, three of the articles in this number are by Wesleyan Methodist ministers—'The Overlapping of Sources in Matthew and Luke,' by Rev. T. Stephenson, D.D.; 'The Sign of John,' by Prof. J. H. Michael, of Toronto; and 'The Johannine Account of the Early Ministry of Jesus,' by Rev. F. W. Lewis. It is well that denominational distinctions have no place in a journal devoted to the interests of high-class scholarship.

Church Quarterly (January).—The Bishop of Moray writes on 'The Diaconate of Women,' and sees no reason why it should not be revived, especially at the present time when it is so much needed. Dr. Wigram, in his valuable account of 'Turkey in Dissolution,' thinks that there is 'hardly a nationality of the medley that make up "the Ottoman Empire" which does not wish for Great Britain to have the mandate.' As a Turk put it, 'We know that you English will respect our religion and our women ; and we know that nobody else will.' Dr. Wigram was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks during the war.

The Holborn Review (January) opens with an article by T. A. Thompson, B.Sc., entitled 'Towards Reunion.' It is based on a volume with the same title, in which an effort is made by various writers to promote a mutual understanding between the Church of England and Free Churches. Mr. Thompson's article is well-informed and well-balanced. Prof. J. E. M'Fadyen writes on the Future Life in the Old Testament, and the One-volume Commentary on the Bible edited by Dr. Peake is favourably reviewed by T. H. Robinson, D.D. The lessons of the remarkable book *The Army and Religion* are drawn out by P. J. Fisher, and other articles in the January number are on 'Wesley the Lover,' and 'R. L. Stevenson and Missions.' Dr. Peake now edits this Review and is beginning to put his personal stamp on each number by 'Editorial Notes.'

The Expository Times (January and February).—Dr. Selbie's article on 'The New Attitude to God' is short, but very suggestive.

The subject is bound to be more thoroughly discussed. Dr. F. R. Tennant continues his series of articles on fundamental questions of Theism by one on 'Creation and the Origin of the Soul.' The reverent appreciation of the life and work of the late Dr. G. G. Findlay has been, we are sure, on the part of Principal W. J. Moulton a labour of love. It will find many echoes amongst representatives of all Christian Churches. The remaining contents of these two numbers are not easily summarized. Their interest consists largely in their variety, and Dr. Hastings' own editorial notes of recent exposition constitute a distinctive and one of the most attractive features in every monthly issue.

Science Progress (January).—After the usual careful account of progress made in various branches of science come articles on 'Evolution and Irreversibility,' 'Rhythm in Nature' and on 'Some Scientific Aspects of Cold Storage.' Obituary notices are given of Dr. Mercier, the distinguished alienist, and Mr. Philip Jourdain, the mathematical expert, and there are notes on Einstein's theory.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (April–November).—Special interest will be felt in the account given by Dr. Rendel Harris of fragments from the Greek tragedians which he has discovered embedded in the Third Book of Maccabees. Prof. Tout's article on 'Mediaeval Forgers and Forgeries' gives many quaint glimpses into a fascinating subject.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review (October).—Dr. Frederic Palmer's 'Isaac Watts' is an estimate, discriminating and appreciative, of the permanent value of his religious poetry. It is granted, at the outset, that 'the formative influence of Watts, especially upon the religious life of New England, has been profound.' He was 'the first to recognize that children had poetic rights and to give them a place in literature.' His *Divine and Moral Songs* became 'classic in the childish world.' It is his abiding honour that 'he was the first Englishman who set the gospel to music, and in his special field of song he has never been surpassed.' (January).—An interesting account of 'Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia' is given by Dr. G. A. Reisner, Professor of Egyptology. He writes from Harvard Camp, Giza Pyramids. Investigations show that 'Ethiopia, for centuries a province of Egypt and for eighty years the dominant province, was separated from the mother country.' Long before 300 B.C. the Ethiopian kings, cut off from Egypt, turned their attention to the south and developed the country about Barn'a, supposed to be Meroë. This Meroitic Kingdom was the Ethiopia or Cush known to the Greeks and Romans. Its history is still in obscurity, but it is 'the hope of the Harvard-Boston expedition to continue its researches in Ethiopia by excavating the royal cemetery of Meroë.' Dr. Howard N. Brown, of Boston, writes judicially on 'Psychic Research.'

The Princeton Review (January).—Prof. G. Vos opens this number with a scholarly article on 'The Eschatology of the Psalter,' and draws some important present-day lessons from what might be considered a somewhat remote theological theme. Dr. B. B. Warfield furnishes a second instalment of his criticism of 'Ritschl and his Doctrine of Christian Perfection.' The tables on the use of the words for God in Jewish apocryphal literature, drawn up by R. D. Wilson, will be found useful. The article, 'Problems of Peace,' by Daniel S. Gage, introduces questions with which all are painfully familiar and discusses them with intelligence and hopefulness.

Bibliotheca Sacra (January).—Prof. Koenig enters a protest against some strictures of Dr. Griffith Thomas on the German attitude towards the Bible. He admits that the Higher Criticism has been very actively pursued in Germany, but that has been the case in other countries. He calls attention to German scholars who have maintained the authority of Scripture and to its groups of friends and defenders of Biblical truth. Dr. Thomas, in his answer, holds that the Higher Criticism has been elaborated and pursued in Germany as in no other country, and orthodox teachers have been silenced either by force or fear.

FOREIGN

Analecta Bolandiana. Tomus 33. Fasc. 4.—The last number of the *Analecta* appeared on July 22, 1914. During the war it shared the fate of all Belgian periodicals. The printer found himself deprived of paper, type, &c. Nor was literary research possible. Six times the application to proceed to Holland to get into touch with the living world and supply the needs of their library was refused. The President of the Bollandists was arrested by the German police on January 31, 1918, on charges such as every Belgian patriot was liable to have brought against him. He was sentenced to ten years' forced labour, and was only set free through the energetic intervention of Baron Descamps on October 30, 1918, when the German Army was in full retreat. All friends of liberty and of learning will rejoice that the Society is now able to resume its valuable researches. The articles of this number deal with the Canonization of Russian saints; Saint Almachues ou Télémaque; the Book of Miracles of St. Cornelius Ninevensis. There is a Bulletin of Hagiographic publications and an Appendix on the *Repertorium Hymnologicum*.

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques.—This is the number for July–October, 1914, but it has been delayed till November, 1919, through the war. The three main articles deal with 'La perception extérieure d'après M. Bergson'; the Originality of Jeremiah; and the ideas of Robert de Melun on original sin. The bulletins and chronicle 1914–1919 are of great importance. The losses of the Louvain University Library are set down at 300,000 volumes, a thousand incunabula, and several hundred MSS.

